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INDIAN PAINTING

FOR THE BRITISH

1770–1880

An Artist at Work. Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1815

INDIAN PAINTING

FOR THE BRITISH

1770–1880

AN ESSAY BY

MILDRED AND W. G. ARCHER

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PREFACE

THE scope and purpose of this study require a brief explanation. During the period with which we are concerned, the years from 1770 to 1880, Indian painting falls into two distinct parts. The first is a product of areas such as Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh—areas which never came within the limits of British India. Outside these semi-independent States the West was making its encroachments. New articles were coming into use; British dress, furniture, and trappings were acquiring new prestige. English was being taught, books were being printed, railways were thrusting through the countryside. To such developments the States were largely impervious. Occasionally rulers might ape British customs and equip their palaces with British manufactures, but actions such as these were only passing tributes to the Paramount Power. In essentials the ancient order remained. Rajas hunted in the forests or moved in stately processions; courts retained their feudal glamour; and, as part of the traditional pattern, artists still practised their hereditary techniques. Such painting, we might say, is of the British period but it is hardly Indian painting for the British. In everything most vital to art, in style as well as subject-matter, it is a simple continuance of earlier, pre-British traditions.

The second type of painting is quite different. It is a product of areas which came directly under British rule and were later to be known as British India. It mirrored British rather than Indian tastes and in style it combined the British and Indian techniques. It was, in fact, the equivalent of British curricula in Indian education, British medicine in Indian health, British law in Indian justice. It represented the gradual adjustment of Indian practice to British attitudes and embodies the chief British contribution to traditional Indian art.

It is this second type of painting which forms our subject. Although the British were responsible for it, the painting was none the less by Indians and as an episode in a larger history, it is deserving of study. For better or for worse, modern India was influenced by British interests and attitudes and we can only understand the present condition of its culture by knowing what they were. The purpose of this history is to reveal some hitherto neglected styles of painting and to make a little clearer the nature of the British impact.

Of the new information included in this book, much is based on oral accounts given by descendants of Indian artists or of their patrons. In most cases our informants were old men, and since it is unlikely that their evidence will ever again be forthcoming, we have recorded it in as full a manner as possible. The statements not only cover the social conditions, status, rewards, and movements of the artists, but throw light on the traditional organization of their ancient profession.

For much of the material in Sections 3 and 4 we are indebted to the late Ishwari Prasad, a descendant of both Patna and Murshidabad painters and an earlier informant of Havell, Percy Brown, and P. C. Manuk. When we knew him in 1942 he still possessed a large family collection of paintings, drawings, and mica tracings, some of which had been used as models by his Patna and Murshidabad forebears. The late Mahadev Lal gave an account of his life in Patna and Benares to a descendant of his former patron, Rai Durga Prasad, and B. Radha Mohan, one of Mahadev Lal's pupils and later Principal of the Patna Art School, gave us his detailed recollections. To B. Shyam Bihari Lal we owe much information concerning his grandfather, Hulas Lal, and his father, Bani Lal. Rai Sahib Balgovind Malaviya, Rai Mathura Prasad, and the sons of Rai Sultan Bahadur of Patna City threw much light on the Patna artists from the angle of their former Indian patrons.

In Section 5 we are indebted to B. Radha Mohan for much new material about Dallu Lal and other painters who worked at Benares for Raja Ishwari Narain Singh; to B. Rajaram Varma, a descendant on one side of Chuni Lal of Benares and on the other of a Patna painter, for the history of another group of Benares artists, and to B. Sardar Prasad, the son of Ram Prasad and grandson of Mulchand, for recalling many family memories. Ishwari Prasad's reminiscences of developments in Benares corroborated these accounts.

For Section 7, information was obtained from M. Hasankhan Khurshed Hasankhan, a miniature painter and dealer of the Chandni Chowk, Delhi, who also allowed us to inspect a series of family testimonials dating from the British occupation; and for Section 8, Mr. T. S. Dandapany of Madras recalled many traditions of the Tanjore painters.

To all these generous informants we are most grateful.

Besides making these acknowledgements, we would express our deep grati-

tude to Mr. Basil Gray of the British Museum, to Mr. S. C. Sutton, Librarian, India Office Library, and his staff, and to Mr. H. J. Stooke, of the Indian Institute, Oxford, for making readily available many paintings in the collections of their institutions; to Rai Krishna Das and Dr. Moti Chandra for certain information; to the late H. N. Spalding for constant encouragement; and to Miss Lucy Hutchinson, Dr. T. G. P. Spear, and Mr. Graham Reynolds for valued criticism and advice.

We would also gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of the following owners, institutions, and authorities for permitting the reproduction of pictures: Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and India Office Library, the Linnaean Society, London, the Patna Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, Sir Chester Beatty, Viscount Bearsted, Mr. Karl Khandalavala, and Mrs. Grant.

M. A.
W. G. A.

CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES	xi
1. THE BRITISH AND INDIA	1
2. THE BRITISH AND ART	9
3. MURSHIDABAD	20
4. PATNA	27
5. BENARES	41
6. LUCKNOW	51
7. DELHI	64
8. SOUTHERN INDIA	72
9. WESTERN INDIA	85
10. NATURAL HISTORY PAINTINGS	91
11. THE CAUSES OF DECLINE	99
12. CONCLUSION	108
NOTES	115
NOTE ON COLLECTIONS	124
BIBLIOGRAPHY	125
INDEX	137
MAP OF INDIA	147

LIST OF PLATES

(*at end*)

FRONTISPIECE An Artist at Work. Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1815. Victoria and Albert Museum, 93 D 11 (15).

PLATE 1, FIG. 1 Toda Villagers. Aquatint from *Views in India, chiefly among the Neelgherry Hills* (London, 1837). Drawn by Richard Barron.

FIG. 2 Sankry Droog, a hill-fort in Southern India. Aquatint, No. VII from *Oriental Scenery: Series IV* (London 1807). Drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell.

PLATE 2, FIG. 3 View of Court House Street, Calcutta. Aquatint from *Views of Calcutta* (London, 1824). Drawn by James Fraser.

FIG. 4 The Banks of the Ganges near Patna. From a sketch-book by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Patna. About 1825. Patna Museum, India. 523 (32).

PLATE 3, FIG. 5 The Hook-swinging Festival. Water-colour. Murshidabad. About 1800. Authors' collection.

FIG. 6 Suttee Scene. Artist's mica pattern with colour indications. Murshidabad. About 1800. Authors' collection.

PLATE 4, FIG. 7 The Shrimper. Illustration to *Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the English* (London, 1814).

FIG. 8 Barbers. Illustration to *Oriental Drawings* (London, 1802). Drawn by Captain Charles Gold. Madras, about 1792.

PLATE 5, FIG. 9 The Grass-cutter and Gram-grinder. Illustration to *The Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque during Twenty-four Years in the East* (London, 1850). By Fanny Parks.

FIG. 10 Beggars. Illustration to Captain Charles Gold's *Oriental Drawings* (London, 1802). Drawn by 'the Tanjore Moochy', Tanjore. About 1800.

PLATE 6, FIG. 11 A European Lady. Water-colour on ivory. Probably by Jairam Das, Patna. About 1830. Patna Museum, India. 214.

FIG. 12 Portrait of Lady Oakley (1762–1839), wife of the Governor of Madras (1790–5). Water-colour on ivory. By John Smart. Signed and dated 1786. Collection Viscount Bearsted.

FIG. 13 Portrait of Colonel Carnac (1716–1800). Water-colour on ivory. By Ozias Humphry. Signed at back and dated 1786. Collection Alan Evans.

FIG. 14 Portrait of Constantine Phipps Jr. (drowned 1793). Water-colour on ivory. By John Smart. Signed and dated 1793. Collection J. C. Phipps.

PLATE 7, FIG. 15 The Pedlar. Water-colour. By Sewak Ram, Patna. About 1810. Authors' collection.

FIG. 16 Wrestling and Sword-play. Water-colour. Probably by Hulas Lal, Patna. About 1830. Victoria and Albert Museum. 03533.I.S.

PLATE 8, FIG. 17 A Muslim Wedding. Water-colour. By Sewak Ram, Patna. About 1807. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

FIG. 18 A Hindu Marriage (wrongly entitled 'A Saint Receiving Offerings'). Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1800. India Office Library. Wellesley Set. Case 10, 18.

PLATE 9, FIG. 19 Scene in the Opium Factory, Gulzarbagh, Patna. Painting on mica. By Shiva Lal, Patna. About 1860. Victoria and Albert Museum. 07361.I.S.

FIG. 20 A Gentleman being entertained by Dancing Girls. Water-colour. By Shiva Lal, Patna. About 1860. Victoria and Albert Museum. I.S.201–1949.

PLATE 10, FIG. 21 Camel with Rider. Water-colour. Probably by Kamalpati Lal, Benares. About 1820. Patna Museum, India. 958(20).

FIG. 22 Tailors. Water-colour. Probably by Kamalpati Lal, Benares. About 1820. Patna Museum, India. 958(24).

PLATE 11, FIG. 23 Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandra near Agra. Water-colour. Delhi. About 1817. Victoria and Albert Museum, D. 628–1889.

FIG. 24 The Kutb Minar, Delhi. Water-colour on Ivory. Delhi. About 1835. Victoria and Albert Museum. 286–1871.

PLATE 12, FIG. 25 Musicians. Painting on mica. By Shiva Dayal Lal, Patna. About 1865. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 4658.

FIG. 26 Water-carrier. Water-colour. By Bani Lal, Patna. About 1880. Authors' collection.

PLATE 13, FIG. 27 Muharram Lantern-carrier. Painting on mica. Benares. About 1870. India Office Library. R.R. Case 1.39.

FIG. 28 Lacquer-worker. Painting on mica. Benares. About 1870. India Office Library. R.R. Case 1.39.

PLATE 14, FIG. 29 Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh. Tempera. By Mir Chand, Faizabad. About 1775. Partial copy of painting by Tilly Kettle. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 287–1951.

FIG. 30 Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh. Water-colour, Lucknow. About 1800. India Office Library. ALR 2 D.

PLATE 15, FIG. 31 Cloth-seller. Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1800. India Office Library. Wellesley Set. Case 10, 18.

FIG. 32 A Woman polishing Carnelians. Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1815. Victoria and Albert Museum. 93 D 11 (13).

PLATE 16, FIG. 33 Alamgir II. Water-colour on ivory. Delhi. About 1860. Victoria and Albert Museum. 643–1870.

FIG. 34 Shah Alam. Water-colour on ivory. Delhi. About 1860. Victoria and Albert Museum. 648–1870.

FIG. 35 Imperial Ladies. Water-colour on ivory. Delhi. About 1860. Victoria and Albert Museum. I.S.531–1950.

PLATE 17, FIG. 36 A Snake. Painting on mica. Trichinopoly. About 1850. Victoria and Albert Museum. I.S.15.1953.

FIG. 37 Religious Procession of 'Runganada Swami'. Painting on mica. Trichinopoly. About 1850. Victoria and Albert Museum. 4664 $\frac{5}{20}$.

PLATE 18, FIG. 38 A Tailor and his Wife. Tempera. Tanjore. About 1805. Victoria and Albert Museum. A.L.8940 K.

FIG. 39 A Washerman and his Wife. Tempera. Tanjore. About 1780. Victoria and Albert Museum. 93 B 36 (27).

PLATE 19, FIG. 40 'A Girl dancing the Kuharwa.' Illustration (page 192) to *The Costume, Character, Manners, Domestic Habits and Religious Ceremonies of the Mahrattas* (London, 1813). Drawn by 'Deen Alee'. Western India. About 1809.

FIG. 41 An Indian Artist copying a European Portrait. Painting on mica. Tanjore. About 1875. Collection Mrs. C. Grant.

PLATE 20, FIG. 42 Peoples of the Malabar Coast, inscribed 'Nholaŷen and Nholachee'. Water-colour. Malabar. About 1826. India Office Library. ALR 1 A.

FIG. 43 Peoples of the Malabar Coast, inscribed 'Magudam and Murashụ'. Water-colour. Malabar. About 1826. India Office Library. ALR 1 A.

PLATE 21, FIG. 44 Flying Fox. Water-colour. By Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, Calcutta. 1780. Impey Collection. Linnaean Society, London.

FIG. 45 'Mountain Rat on Hindostani Almond.' Water-colour. By Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, Calcutta. 1778. Impey Collection. Linnaean Society, London.

PLATE 22, FIG. 46 Pagoda Thrush on Bair Tree, with Moths and Caterpillar. Water-

colour. By Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, Calcutta. 1777. Impey Collection (LXVII). Linnaean Society, London.

FIG. 47 Eastern Parrot on a Spray. Water-colour. By Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, Calcutta. About 1777. Impey Collection (XXIV). Linnaean Society, London.

PLATE 23, FIG. 48 Hill Women. Oil Painting. By Amrita Sher-Gil. 1935. Private collection, India.

PLATE 24, FIG. 49 White Lotus. Water-colour. Calcutta. About 1800. Probably copy of Roxburgh Icones. India Office Library. Wellesley Set. 89 C 7.

FIG. 50 'Mahoka.' Water-colour. Calcutta. About 1800. India Office Library. Wellesley Set. 91 C 4.

I

THE BRITISH AND INDIA

THE second half of the eighteenth century was a period of exceptional importance in the history of India. It was then that the Mughal system, founded by Akbar and extended by Aurangzeb, collapsed. It saw the growth of anarchy and the clash of warring groups. It was marked by bitter havoc and savage raids. But above all, it was the period when the East India Company became a vigorous and thrusting power in eastern and southern India. This development had momentous consequences. It was to lead, in less than fifty years, to British rule over the greater part of India. It was to open the country to Western manufactures and to sponsor the Indian industrial revolution. It was to introduce Western ways of thought, Western forms of transport, and Western printed literature. Above all, it was to start the process by which India's medieval culture came gradually into line with the ideas and values of the modern age. All these were long-term consequences. Yet even in the eighteenth century the growth of the Company into a powerful territorial State had important results. There now appeared in India more and more British, among them women of the same social class as the men, and insensibly the British attitudes to the country underwent a change. Until 1750 the British had often blended with Indian society; they had either married or lived with Indian women and had adopted Indian habits such as the smoking of the hookah. They were traders who had come to terms with the people. The new arrivals had different views. For many, India was merely a stage in a long journey which would take them back to England. Political power freed them from the need to cultivate Indian society, and, particularly in the presidency towns, they led a life insulated from contact with Indians. A few, on the other hand, showed a resolute independence. To them India was in no sense a mere land to live in. It afforded scope for mental activity, material for 'moral judgements', and channels for 'cultivated interests'. It

stimulated them to make inquiries and these, in the sphere of art, were to lead by complex processes to a new type of painting by Indians.

The individuals who gradually brought about this change were those in whom the culture of eighteenth-century Europe had come to sensitive fruition. In the England of their day, intellectual pursuits were viewed with deep respect, and when they found themselves in a country but little known to the West, they began to investigate its people, culture, fauna, and flora. Sir Charles Wilkins, a civilian, Horace Wilson, a mint master, and Sir William Jones, a judge of the Supreme Court were cases in point. They were stationed in Calcutta and thus exposed to the full force of social diversions, yet with relentless determination they studied Sanskrit and explored the ancient literature of India. Others living in the countryside followed their example. Henry Colebrooke while in north Bihar and Mirzapur from 1782 to 1799 investigated ancient Hindu law as well as mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, and natural history. And James Forbes, who was in the East India Company service from 1765 to 1784, describes in his *Oriental Memoirs* how isolation and loneliness had led him 'to investigate the manners and customs of the inhabitants, to study natural history, and to delineate the principal places and picturesque scenery' in the various parts where he worked. Writing and drawing, he declared, 'have formed the principal recreation of my life. The pursuit beguiled the monotony of four Indian voyages, cheered a long solitary residence at Anjengo and Dhuboy, and softened the long period of absence from my native country.'[1] Equally characteristic were Marianne Postans and her husband, a political officer. Together they explored Junagarh, Cutch, Bombay, Poona, and Sind, discovering that 'the farther persons are removed from the presidencies in India the happier and more tranquil is their everyday life. . . . Freedom from sociality', Mrs. Postans remarked, 'stimulated the intelligence.'[2]

But esteem for knowledge was only part of the changed attitude which characterized some of the newly arriving British. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a fresh approach to life and nature had arisen in England. In place of the formal gardens and romanized architecture previously admired, a rougher wilder Nature came into vogue. The Lake District and the Alps had

[1] J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* (London, 1813). i. vi; i. xi.

[2] M. Postans, *Facts and Fictions illustrative of Oriental Character* (London, 1844), ii. 1–2.

begun to attract and mansions were given a ruder aspect in wilder parks. The new attitude did not stop at scenery, for once the old conventions had begun to crumble, the way was clear for new enthusiasms—for the products of the industrial revolution and for the manners, trades, and occupations of the peasantry and workers. It is true that a cult of local manners had started with the Renaissance, but it was only now that the quainter aspects of British life were explored with zest. The phrase which covered these varied subjects and provoked a constant enthusiasm was 'the picturesque'.

For those who had yielded to its fascination the cult of the picturesque had one important corollary. Mere contemplation of a scene or subject was not enough. It was necessary to perpetuate it either by writing or by sketching, for only in this way could the experience be enjoyed again and again. As a result, there had grown up a taste for amateur sketching and the practice of collecting 'picturesque' prints and pictures. Common subjects were country sports and everyday scenes. Topographical artists recorded 'architectural prospects', while books such as *Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the English* (1814) (Fig. 7), W. H. Pyne's *Microcosm* (1803), and George Walker's *Costume of Yorkshire* (1814) portrayed the inhabitants of England in all their colourful variety. These latter drawings in particular show how wide a reference 'the picturesque' had acquired. Not only do they

> give a vivid picture of the workers in the North of England towards the end of the Napoleonic period: colliers, alum-miners, peat-cutters, fishermen and peasants . . . side by side with Sheffield cutlers and with the aristocrats among the woollen-workers, the cloth-makers. . . . But there are also illustrations of factory children, paupers breaking stones on the roads, and a host of miscellaneous country occupations of the kind Wordsworth loved to romanticize: the leech-finders, moor guides, hawkers, horse dealers, cranberry girls and whale-bone-scrapers[1]

—a whole conspectus of English occupations.

For such a cult there were no geographical limits and from 1760 until well into the nineteenth century many new-comers to India were at once excited by the 'picturesque' qualities of the Indian scene. 'The scenery', wrote J. Johnson, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, as his ship neared Ceylon, 'is truly romantic; the hills and mountains rising in the wildest order and most fantastic shapes

[1] F. D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1947), 92.

imaginable: abrupt precipices, pleasant vallies, thick groves, towering cliffs, and lofty mountains, are here seen intermingled in "regular confusion", and clothed in nature's most verdant livery'.[1] 'Everywhere I see something new to look at every moment', wrote Lady Falkland in 1848, soon after arriving in Bombay where her husband was to be Governor for five years. 'What bits to sketch! What effects here! What colouring there!'[2] And the same experience occurred at Poona: 'There is much that is picturesque, particularly in those parts of the city near the river, where there are some very "Prout"-like buildings, white musjids near warm-coloured Hindoo temples; walls overrun with moss and lichens, and steps down to the water, on which dobies and peasant women wash, or rather beat, their clothes on slanting boards.'[3] As for the Indian village, its air might be 'villaneous' and 'nauseating', 'But enter the village as an artist, and how massive, rich, and varied is the foliage! What exquisite foregrounds for Ruysdael or Hobbima! What splendid lights and solemn murky shades for Rembrandt! What brutal, filthy clowns for Teniers! And what villanous, hairy faqueers, rugged stumps, mouldering ruins, and shocking old women for Salvator!'[4]

The same picturesqueness appeared in 'native characters'. Every figure, wrote Mrs. Postans of a bazaar at Hyderabad in Sind, seemed made for sketching.

> There [she noted] may be seen the haughty Moslem, mounted on his strong Khorassan steed, decorated with rich trappings, appearing much as he would do elsewhere, but for the strange-looking Sudhi cap, and the striped gold and silk Moultaun scarf. . . . Then we have the Affghan, with a dark blue cloth wound over his breast, his long matted hair falling in ringlets on his shoulders, his olive cheek tinted by the mountain breeze and his eye beaming with fire and resolve; the Syud of Pisheen, in his goat's-hair cloak; the fair Heratee; the merchant of Candahar with loose and flowing garments and many-coloured turban; the tall Pathan, with heavy sword and haughty swagger, looking as if he longed to court offence.[5]

But 'native characters' were even more picturesque when assembled together. Captain Mundy, an A.D.C. to Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army, was continually noting this during his tours in northern and eastern India between 1825 and 1830. On returning from his first fair he wrote:

[1] J. Johnson, *The Oriental Voyager* (London, 1807), 65.
[2] A. Cary (Lady Falkland), *Chow-Chow* (London, 1930), 6.
[3] Ibid. 179–80.
[4] Quoted by J. H. Stocqueler, *The Handbook of India* (London, 1844), 375.
[5] Postans, *Facts and Fictions*, iii. 276.

'But in the picturesque properties of the scene, how greatly does this Indian assemblage transcend our own! Instead of red, rectangular buildings, square doors, square windows, formal lines of booths, and, what is worse than all, the dark, dingy dress of the figures, . . . we have here domes, minarets, fanciful architecture, and a costume, above all, flaunting in colours, set off with weapons, and formed, from the easy flow of its drapery, to adorn beauty and disguise deformity. . . . Every hut, equipage, utensil, and beast of India is picturesque.'[1]

Similar qualities imbued festivals and ceremonies. Emily Eden, the sister of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General from 1836 to 1842, was particularly fascinated. 'It was one of the prettiest, gayest feasts I have seen', she said of the Diwali festival, as she drove round the cantonments. 'The illuminations were so pretty. . . . The Sepoys had illuminated there in all directions, and even scattered lamps on the ground all over the plain; it looked like a large Vauxhall.'[2] The Muslim festival of Muharram with its glittering towers, surrounded with sparkling lanterns and attended by warlike dancers, was equally impressive. Many a journal also contained an entry inspired by scenes such as Kali puja, when the statue of the blood-thirsty goddess was worshipped beneath a canopy or carried with flags through the streets. Even the intricate ritual of Hindu and Muhammadan weddings with their brilliant processions of lamps and fanciful flowers induced a mood of romantic wonder. Few of the British can have actually attended these incidents of Indian life, but as they moved through the countryside, their eyes trained for picturesque views, they must certainly have stumbled on scenes of ritual or caught at least a partial glimpse. The same comment applies to two more ceremonies. The first was Hook-swinging, when devotees suspended from poles by hooks through their flesh were whirled above the crowd. The second was suttee, at which the widow immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre. Between 1815 and 1828 suttees were very numerous in Bengal, especially in the districts around Calcutta. 1818 saw the greatest number with 838 of which 544 were in the Calcutta division alone. In 1828, the year before its abolition by Bentinck, 309 took place in the same area. The subject indeed was full of fascination, for the ugly, the barbarous, and the sinister had all in varying degrees the qualities of the picturesque.

[1] G. C. Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches* (London, 1832), i. 155–6.
[2] E. Eden, *Letters from India* (London, 1872), i. 255.

Yet another spectacle attracted the British—the Indian dance called 'the nautch'. Some found it morally repellent or 'tiresomely monotonous', but many were entranced. Emily Eden in particular was attracted by a dancer she saw at Benares in 1837.

> One was I think the prettiest creature I ever saw, and the most graceful. If I have time I will send a little coloured sketch of her, just to show the effect of her dress. She and another girl danced slowly round with their full draperies floating round them, without stopping, for a quarter of an hour, during all which time they were making flowers out of some coloured scarfs they wore, and when they had finished a bunch they came and presented it to us with such graceful Eastern genuflexions. The whole thing was like a dream, it was so curious and unnatural.[1]

Before these instances of the picturesque, cultured men and women could hardly remain idle and we learn from many journals how indispensable appeared the final stage—the transference to paper. 'How do you feel about nature and art?' asked Emily Eden in one of her letters. 'Don't you love a fine picture? After all, it is only nature caught and fixed.'[2] To recognize the picturesque and then to sketch it acquired the force of duty and hardly any exertion was too great in order to achieve this end. At Girnar, in Gujerat, Mrs. Postans climbed a great rocky hill, in the heat of May, in order to examine the Jain temple and thereafter spend a week 'taking drawings of the various objects of particular interest'.[3] Augusta Deane, accompanying her husband, a Company servant, through the recently acquired territories around Delhi from 1804 to 1814, was prepared to face many dangers. She braved tigers and dacoits, crossed swollen rivers on small rafts, and waded through mud in order to see a new part of India and 'some romantic views'. In 1830 Emma Roberts, the author of many books on picturesque India, set off in bonnet and petticoats for a trek in the Himalayas. Sometimes she was 'waist- and knee-deep in snow'. 'We knew beforehand', she wrote, 'all the perils which we had to encounter from cold, hunger, and the rebellion of our followers, but our ardour in the pursuit of the picturesque led us to think lightly of such things, and we started in high spirits, determined upon the accomplishment of our object.'[4]

[1] E. Eden, *Up the Country* (London, 1930), 28.
[2] Ibid. 147.
[3] M. Postans, *Western India in 1838* (London, 1839), ii. 79.
[4] E. Roberts, *Hindostan, its Landscapes, Palaces, Temples, &c.* (London, 1845–7), i. 6–7.

Not every British woman, however, was equally dauntless and Lady Falkland, whose reactions we have already noted, was obliged to admit that sketching, even in Poona, sometimes had insuperable difficulties.

> I attempted to draw once or twice, but was obliged to give it up. Once, in a secluded part of the city, I had sat down in a corner, with my servant standing near me, and was about to begin a very pretty subject, when an elephant passed, nearly treading on my feet; in a few minutes a large buffalo came sharply round a corner, and, startled at the sight of me, turned back, raising up a considerable quantity of dust. Then the children rushed out of their houses, and ran about; the women came to the doors to look at me—no doubt they all thought me insane. At last, a herd of cows and goats were driven by, and as the dust not only shut out my view, but completely covered my paper and the inside of the colour box, I went to the carriage in despair.[1]

Such occasions were fortunately few and as often as not Lady Falkland was able to satisfy to the full her cravings for the picturesque. Indeed for many of the British, as for Mrs. Maitland, a judge's wife in Madras, the day was well rounded off when they came home and found that the servant 'had lighted the candles, and placed our tea-things, books and drawing materials on the table'.[2] The picturesque impressions of the day could then be taken out like butterflies from a killing-bottle, laid out on the setting-board, and reduced to final order.

Such enthusiasm led to a vast number of amateur sketches. Captain Williamson's *Oriental Field Sports*, published in 1807, reveals a deep absorption with the countryside, and Captain Grindlay's *Scenery, Costume and Architecture*—a series of engravings made chiefly from his own drawings between 1806 and 1813—ranges from spectacles in Bombay, showing costume and conveyances, to a sûttee scene and a bridge near Baroda. William Tayler's *Sketches Illustrating the Manners and Customs of the Indians and Anglo-Indians* (1842) includes six plates, all made from his own drawings. Three of them, 'A Young Civilian's Toilet', 'A Young Lady's Toilet', and 'Breakfast', illustrate British manners, and the remainder—'Women Grinding', 'Sunyasses', and 'A Barber'—are examples of the wider aspect of the picturesque. Emily Eden herself was a tireless sketcher, recording the characters, both rich and poor, whom she saw on her long tours 'up the country'. James Prinsep noted the antiquities of Benares and Bishop

[1] Falkland, op. cit. 186.

[2] J. Maitland, *Letters from Madras during the years 1836–39 by a Lady* (London, 1843), 135.

Heber made little sketches to illustrate his journal. Captain A. Allan and Robert Home portrayed the countryside of Mysore during the war with Tippoo, and numerous young officers sketched 'for the purpose of whiling away a solitary hour'.[1] Further instances are 'romantic landscapes' by James Fraser illustrating Calcutta (Fig. 3) and the Himalayas, views of the Nilgiris (1837) by Richard Barron (Fig. 1), views of Calcutta by William Baillie (1794), Sir Charles D'Oyly's sketches at Patna (Fig. 4), and Marianne Postans's illustrations to her three books—*Western India in 1838, Cutch, or Random Sketches of Western India*, and *Facts and Fictions illustrative of Oriental Character*. These latter include sketches of costume—'A Falconer of the Sind Amirs', 'A Mendicant of Sind', 'Women of Mandavie', as well as pictures of musical instruments, agricultural implements, architecture, and landscape. Of all these publications, however, the most typical is *The Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* (Fig. 9). Written by Fanny Parks, the daughter of Major Archer, an A.D.C. to Lord Combermere, the book describes her travels in India from 1822 to 1845 when her husband was a Company Collector in Calcutta, Allahabad, and Cawnpore. Nothing escaped her notice and in a series of vivid entries she recorded a host of festivals, costumes, landscapes, and architecture.

Such sketches differ widely in artistic merit. Many of those who produced them must have answered to a contemporary description, 'a mere fashionable screen-sketcher and murderer of the picturesque', as distinct from the other category, 'a regular painter, trained by long study, and under the influence of good taste'.[2] Another observer, Mrs. Maitland, complained that many of the sketches had 'every merit except beauty', and added, 'I do not know how it is we all contrive to avoid that'.[3] Only rarely achieving distinction, the sketches were in fact interesting for another reason. They were an index to a reigning fashion, a cult which as a strange impersonal force impelled numbers of the British to look at India with lively curiosity and in the upshot to evoke from Indian painters a new type of Indian art.

[1] Capt. Bellew, *Views in India* (London, 1833), note to his sketch of the Fort of Jhansi. Other officers who sketched were Commander Elliot, Capt. Gold, Lieut. White, Lieut. Fotheringham, Lieut. Maisey, Capt. Luard, Capt. Jump, Ensign Blunt, Col. Meadows Taylor, Lt.-Col. Forrest, and Lieut. Hunter.
[2] B. Hall, *Travels in India, Ceylon, and Borneo* (London, 1931), 62. See also Note I, p. 115.
[3] Maitland, op. cit. 233.

2

THE BRITISH AND ART

THE attitudes to India which British people adopted were bound to influence Indian painting as soon as Indian artists were discovered and the British assumed the role of patrons. But before this could be accomplished, various difficulties had first to be surmounted. Indian artists were not invariably to hand; British professionals were at times too assertive; and more important still, there existed crucial differences between the two traditions.

To the British in India, painting was the style of picture-making as practised by the British. To those who had already learnt to sketch, the correct principles were those expressed by their drawing-masters and derived from such books as Sir Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794), William Gilpin's *Tours* (1782–1809), and his *Three Essays* (1792). These last were entitled 'On Picturesque Beauty', 'On Picturesque Travel', and 'On Sketching Landscape', and all were concerned with precisely what style should be adopted when the picturesque was transferred to paper. Gilpin's instructions were nothing if not systematic and provided lists of features to be included or omitted. He advised, for example, that in sketching landscape, gnarled trees should be placed on either side, a Gothic ruin included in the off-skip, meadows inserted in the background, and that the foreground should contain creepers, stumps of blasted trees, stony banks, and rutted paths with shaggy animals and unkempt humans to add the requisite touch of life. These instructions naturally led to satire, and at one time the book by William Combe and Thomas Rowlandson, *The Tours of Dr. Syntax*, was almost as popular in India as the writings of Gilpin himself—so much so that 'Dr. Syntax' often appeared at fancy-dress balls. Yet despite this mockery Gilpin's ideas continued to be followed and his objective can perhaps be defined as a suggestive realism, blending the picturesque classicism of Claude, Poussin, and Salvator with the naturalism of Ruisdael, Cuyp, and Hobbema.

But more important than theory was the actual practice of British professional artists. Following the arrival of Tilly Kettle in Madras in 1769, almost sixty of such painters went to India between then and 1820 to stay for a longer or a shorter period according to the number of commissions that each received. Their work fell into three categories. Tilly Kettle (1769–76), Johann Zoffany (1783–9), and Arthur Devis (1785–95), all well-established painters in England, were experts in oil-painting—their work including portraits as well as large-scale historical scenes. This kind of painting, however, had serious limitations, for not only were such pictures easily ruined by the climate, they were often too large to be easily transported. When their owners retired to England, freight charges were heavy, and during the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century there was a special duty on pictures imported into the country. In consequence, although oil-paintings were at first distinctly fashionable, their popularity declined until they came to be commissioned only when presentation pictures were needed for public buildings.

The second type of painting was the portrait miniature on ivory. John Smart earned a steady income in Madras from 1785 to 1795, specializing in this fashionable technique (Figs. 12 and 14). Both he and Ozias Humphry (Fig. 13) (1785–7), were leaders of the art of miniature painting in England, and Samuel Andrews (1791–1807) and Diana Hill (1786–1806) proved not incompetent exponents of it. But a few years later all four were eclipsed in the taste of their patrons by George Chinnery (1802–25). Lady Nugent, wife of the Commander-in-Chief, Bengal Army, was delighted with his portrait of her husband. 'Saw Chinnery's paintings', she wrote on 27 March 1812, 'the likenesses excellent'. 'June 17th. Sir George [her husband] sits twice a week before breakfast to Chinnery—Went in the evening to see his miniatures, which are very good indeed.'[1] So high in fact was Chinnery's reputation that Sir Charles D'Oyly was merely voicing the general opinion when he described him in his peom, *Tom Raw, the Griffin*, as 'the ablest limner in the land'.[2]

The third and most common type of all consisted in water-colour drawings intended either as ends in themselves or as studies for subsequent engravings, aquatints, or lithographs. We have seen how in England the production of such

[1] M. Nugent, *A Journal from the Year 1811 to the Year 1815* (London, 1839), i. 125, 147.
[2] C. D'Oyly, *Tom Raw, the Griffin* (London, 1828), 115 (canto v, verse viii).

prints had reached extraordinary dimensions by the third quarter of the eighteenth century and it is not surprising that when William Hodges began his travels in India (1780–3), recording with professional skill a number of romantic views, his example was quickly followed by others. The most notable were Thomas Daniell and his nephew William, who remained in India from 1786 to 1794. During a visit to Ceylon, Maria Graham met Thomas Daniell in a village, 'where he intended to stay some time in search of subjects for his pencil. To defend himself from the bad effects of his sylvan life', she wrote, 'he smokes, and lights great fires within and without his tent.'[1] His progress through the countryside was measured by means of a 'perambulator', a large wheel trundled by a handle, with clockwork and dial recording the mileage. Evenings and wet days were spent mounting, 'washing' or 'dead-colouring' the drawings made a day or so earlier. All these journeys had only one object—to record the picturesque—and we can see how fully both uncle and nephew accepted this goal from a statement inserted in their preface to *A Picturesque Voyage to India*. 'Science has had her adventurers', they wrote, 'and philanthropy her achievements; the shores of Asia have been invaded by a race of students with no rapacity but for lettered relics; by naturalists whose cruelty extends not to one human inhabitant; by philosophers ambitious only for the extirpation of error, and the diffusion of truth. It remains for the artist to take his part in these guiltless spoliations, and to transport to Europe the picturesque beauties of these favoured regions.'[2]

But although the objective might be clear, the artistic solution often presented difficulties.

> The hills that appeared today [wrote William Daniell on 26 April 1792] were small, rocky, and very bare of Wood—these Rocks are chiefly of a light grey tint on a dark ground with here and there patches of dark Green, from which circumstance the hills had a very spotty and disagreeable effect particularly when seen near, and the sun shining on them. Even in the second ground they were out of harmony, unless the sun was low and behind them, which gave them indistinctness—but in the distance when haze softened the whole they were picturesque as the forms of most of them were good. Rocks of all forms and sizes, tinted as one could wish and grouping

[1] M. Graham (Lady Callcott), *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh, 1812), 101. Maria Graham visited the three presidencies from 1809 to 1811.

[2] T. and W. Daniell, *A Picturesque Voyage to India* (London, 1810), Introduction, i, ii.

with the Wild Aloe, made very rich foregrounds. The Clouds now and then broke over the Tops of some of the ragged hills which improved them in shape as well as colour.[1]

From these drawings the Daniells produced the engravings published in their famous *Views of Calcutta* (1786–8), *Oriental Scenery* in six parts (1795–1808) (Fig. 2), and *A Picturesque Voyage to India* (1810) as well as in Caunter's *The Oriental Annual* (1834–40). All these productions were priced high—200 sicca rupees (about £21) being charged in India for twenty-four views, while in England *Oriental Scenery* cost £210. Yet so exactly did their style fit British requirements that Emma Roberts was merely expressing the fashionable view when she referred to 'the exquisitely faithful delineations of Mr. Daniell, an artist so long and so actively employed in portraying the wonders of nature and of art in India. . . . The engravings from his works, executed under his own eye, retain all those delicate touches which are so necessary to preserve the oriental character of the original sketches.'[2]

Besides Hodges and the two Daniells, other artists also employed the water-colour medium for subsequent engravings. James Wales's *Views of the Island of Bombay and Ellora* (1791 and 1792) and James Moffat's *Views of Calcutta, Berhampore, Monghyr and Benares* (1805) gained wide popularity and at the same time pictures illustrating Indian bazaar characters came into fashion. So keen was the demand for Baltasar Solvyn's two hundred and fifty coloured engravings of the *Manners and Customs and Dresses of the Natives of Bengal* (1799), costing 250 rupees, that John Gantz, who ran a lithographic press in Madras, was tempted in 1827 to publish *The Indian Microcosm*, a set of twenty prints representing certain trades—butchers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other familiar bazaar figures. His son later produced pictures of festivals and bazaar characters. Artists were continually advertising in the papers their proposals for such sets of pictures. John Alefounder proposed painting a set of thirty-six: twelve portraits of nawabs and 'remarkable characters', twelve 'whole-length figures of natives', and twelve of customs and ceremonies. Devis proposed a set of thirty paintings of the arts, manufactures, and agriculture of Bengal, and Robert Mabon

[1] W. Daniell, quoted M. Hardie and M. Clayton, 'Thomas Daniell, R.A.; William Daniell', *Walker's Quarterly* (London, 1932), 79.

[2] E. Roberts, *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan, with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society* (London, 1835), i. 228.

advertised twenty pictures of oriental manners and customs at 30 rupees a copy. All these productions have certain points in common. In colour, greys and browns predominate. The general objective is 'faithful delineation' and above all, perspective is habitually employed, sometimes, as with the Daniells, as a means to drama, but more often as part of the accepted technique of reproducing natural effects.

When British painting was cast in so definite a mould, it was hardly to be expected that Indian painting would arouse unqualified enthusiasm, and indeed the first reactions of the British were distinctly equivocal. The Indian miniature technique received cautious approval. 'The specimens of Hindu art I have seen', wrote Maria Graham, 'are minute imitations of nature, on a scale in general more diminutive than our common miniatures; but there is a delicacy of handling about them, that seems like the remains of a more perfect art.'[1] But the absence of perspective, light, and 'harmony' were regrettable weaknesses.

> The Gentoos [Hindus] . . . [wrote a certain John Cleland shortly after 1750 in a note to a collection of portraits of Indian rulers] are Passionately fond and curious of Painting, and yet have in the course of Ages, made an inconsiderable progress in comparison with the European perfection. . . . On my raising a very Natural Objection to the Rudeness and imperfection of the Draughts and the little Probability of a Resemblance holding in such raw unfinished pieces, it was answered me that the Indian Painters in General could not attain to the just disposition of Light and Shade, nor manage a large outline with any Exactness, but that they excelled in hitting a likeness in miniature (of which it is certain I have seen many Instances) and they Pretend that no European Pictures they have seen have hit the turn or Colour of Face peculiar to the Mogul tribe.[2]

Captain Williamson, writing in about 1807, had much the same complaint. An Indian artist, he said, 'may display great ingenuity, consummate patience, and often, great delicacy: but with respect to design, taste, composition, perspective consistency, and harmony; in all these, whether in drawing, sculpture, or in any mode of representation, he will prove himself to be completely ignoramus'.[3] Almost identical phrases are used by Stocqueler, the author of one

[1] M. Graham, *Letters on India* (London, 1814), 54.

[2] John Cleland, Inscription in Bodleian MSS. Arch. Fd. 13. Gujarati MSS. A collection of portraits of sovereigns of Hindustan procured by a 'banyan' merchant-broker to the Dutch at Surat. The MSS. also includes a note by Pope, 1737.

[3] T. Williamson, *East India Vade Mecum* (London, 1810), ii. 30–31.

of the first gazetteers to India, when stressing that the arts and sciences of India 'are now confessedly at a very low ebb. . . . Their drawing and painting set at defiance form, perspective, light, shade and harmony.'[1] The same criticism appears in Frederic Shobert's *The World in Miniature* (*Hindoostan*) (1822). 'We find nothing in Hindoo works', he declares, 'to enable us to judge of the state of painting at the time when Hindostan was in the zenith of its glory. . . . The mutchees or painters, of the present day, understand nothing of perspective, light and shade, or Chiaroscuro.'[2] J. S. Mill also observes: 'The Hindus copy with great exactness, even from nature. By consequence they draw portraits, both of individuals and of groups, with a minute likeness, but peculiarly devoid of grace and expression. . . . In one remarkable circumstance their painting resembles that of all other nations who have made but a small progress in the arts. They are entirely without a knowledge of perspective, and by consequence of all those finer and nobler parts of the art of painting which have perspective for their requisite basis.'[3]

Damned by such remarks, Indian painting stood little chance, it would be thought, of receiving British patronage. 'Ancient' pictures, it is true, were occasionally collected as 'oriental curiosities', and Mrs. Kindersley, who lived in India from 1765 to 1769, even used an engraving of a Mughal picture as a frontispiece to her *Letters from the East Indies*. The painting is entitled 'An Apartment in a Zanannah' and shows a princess sitting with her hookah while maidservants squat around her with refreshments and musical instruments. William Hodges's *Travels in India during 1780–83* is similarly illustrated with an engraving of a zenana scene. But only a few collected Indian pictures seriously—Richard Johnson, John Baillie, John Bardoe Elliott, Jonathan Scott, Robert Clive, Sir Gore and Sir William Ouseley, Warren Hastings, William Kirk-Patrick, and Sir Elijah Impey—and of these it was only Johnson who amassed a large collection.[4]

[1] Stocqueler, *Handbook*, 42.

[2] F. Shobert, *The World in Miniature, Hindoostan* (London, 1822), v. 231.

[3] J. S. Mill, *The History of British India* (London, 1817), i. 356.

[4] Johnson; in India 1770–90. Baillie; in India 1791–1823, Resident at Lucknow 1807–13. Elliott; a judge in India from 1802 to 1831, who spent much of his service in Patna, had a fine collection and purchased some of Sir Gore Ouseley's MSS., which he presented to the Bodleian Library. Scott; in India 1772–85. Some paintings from his collection appear in Sir William Ouseley's *The Oriental Collections*. Clive; in India 1744–67. Sir Gore Ouseley; in India in the service of the Nawab of Oudh 1788–1805. Sir William Ouseley; went as Secretary to his brother on the Persian expedition of 1810. Hastings; in

Such activities by a small minority had little bearing on the main problem, for collecting 'ancient' pictures was in any case quite different from commissioning living artists and buying their work. Yet despite these varied obstacles, Indian artists did in fact begin to paint for the British and several circumstances explain the patronage which reached them. The first was the economic plight of the artists themselves. The British settlements had grown up in areas that were all deficient in strong artistic traditions. From Bombay the Maratha country stretched eastwards into the Deccan, and although Deccani painting flourished in Hyderabad, the Marathas themselves had hardly any art. In southern India the position was similar: Madras, the presidency capital, had no indigenous art whatever. At Arcot and Tanjore painting was practised, but the local art was only an offshoot from the style of the Deccan. In Calcutta no court had fostered indigenous painting and, although various styles of village painting existed in the eighteenth century, they can hardly have appeared in the houses of the city. Farther inland, a local school of painting had flourished at Murshidabad under Ali Vardi Khan, but had languished after his death. Indian artists in the British areas, therefore, were either the dispirited survivors of dwindling traditions or adventurous immigrants who had travelled from the north. The last had been speeded on their way by the Persian and Afghan invasions of the early eighteenth century—invasions which had not merely reduced the Mughal emperor's capacity as patron, but had temporarily destroyed the court's function as arbiter of national taste. With a certain despairing urgency, therefore, these artists had entered the British zones and commenced exploring foreign needs.

Such an exploration obviously demanded a willingness to abandon ancestral convictions and the ability to adjust technique and vision to British requirements. In centres with strong local traditions, such an adjustment would have been unthinkable, but in the special plight in which the artists found themselves, much greater accommodation was possible. And in this they were certainly helped by a common trait in the national character. 'As a workman', Mrs. Postans had noticed, 'the Hindu is ingenious in imitation, apt and clever.'[1] 'The Mahomedans have a more exuberant fancy than the Hindus . . . but the Hindus have greater delicacy of touch, greater accuracy in imitation, and are very superior to them in

India 1750–85. Kirk-Patrick; in India 1773–1801. Impey; in India 1774–83 as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta.

[1] Postans, *Facts and Fictions*, i. 45.

perseverance. Not deficient in apprehension, they seem most adapted to receive instruction.'[1] And it is this adaptability which provides the key to subsequent events.

To anglicize inherited techniques, to humour foreign susceptibilities—such courses of action, then, were open to these Indian artists. Yet without some gesture in return patronage could hardly have resulted. It was necessary to admit that granted suitable training, local artists could prove satisfactory. Were there any needs which, from the circumstances of British people's residence in India or even from their obsessions with the picturesque, only Indian artists could fulfil?

A first contact with the British came through menial aspects of the artist's trade. Local painters sometimes ornamented punkah-frames and were also employed as house-decorators. Emily Eden, for example, when in Simla speaks of an artist who was called in to paint a geometric frieze in her sitting-room and it is easy to imagine how other families in similar situations must also have sent for painters. Another type of employment lay in work for the army. Many units of the Royal Engineers were required to carry out extensive surveys and also to make maps. The Indian artist with his eye for detail and his delicate skill was obviously well suited to serve as map-maker or draughtsman. While touring Gujerat during his great episcopal tour of 1824 to 1825, Bishop Heber noticed how Indian artists were being used by the Royal Engineers and how a Captain Ovans had

> brought with him some specimens of his maps, which are extremely minute, extending to the smallest details usually expressed in the survey of a gentleman's property in England, with a copious field book, and a particular statement of the average number of farms, tanks, hills, orchards, &c. in each townland. The execution of the maps [the Bishop noted] is very neat, and their drawing said to be wonderfully accurate, though the mapping, measurement, and angles are, as well as the drawing, by native assistants. . . . Their neatness, delicacy, and patience in the use of the different instruments and the pencil, he [Captain Ovans] spoke of as really extraordinary; and he was no less satisfied with their intelligence, acuteness, and readiness in the acquisition of the necessary degree of mathematical science.[2]

Lady Nugent also describes how an officer of the engineers at Agra was using

[1] M. Postans, *Cutch, or Random Sketches of Western India* (London, 1839), 224.

[2] R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824–5* (London, 1828), ii. 140.

Indian artists to make under his supervision a model of one of the Taj minarets, 3 feet high and 'perfect in every respect'.[1] She quotes her husband as saying—either of this model or another—that it had been four years in the making and would take another four to complete. Such employment of Indian artists, however menial, may at least have had the effect of destroying prejudices against the Indian artist as such.

But other factors were also predisposing the British to avail themselves of local painters. The Indian miniature technique, as we have seen, aroused sincere enthusiasm, since although in point of fact quite different, it appeared at first sight as not unlike the art of Smart or Cosway. Doubtless professional British artists were preferred, but they were expensive, for a miniature portrait by a British artist usually cost at least £25. Ozias Humphry charged 500 sicca rupees (about £54) for an ordinary miniature and a thousand for one of extra large size. Alefounder advertised portraits at 20 to 25 gold mohurs (about £43). These were high prices to pay for pictures that might quickly be destroyed by the climate or fish-insects. Once, therefore, Indian painters had shown their skill, the way was open.

One further circumstance helps us to understand the gradual acceptance of Indian artists by British settlements. Although so loudly advertised and so fashionably admired, amateur painting had its limitations. Amongst scholars, the intelligentsia, and visitors to India, there were always some who in spite of contemporary fashion and education had never learnt to draw or were dissatisfied with their skill. Unless the art of drawing and painting had been acquired in England, it was impossible to learn it in India. Forbes laments this fact. 'When there I had little to excite emulation, and no other instruction than a few friendly hints from Sir Archibald Campbell; who, during a short residence at Bombay in 1768, encouraged my juvenile pursuits.'[2] Few were as fortunate as Sir Charles D'Oyly who, when he went to Dacca as Collector, found Chinnery living there and was able to take regular lessons from him. Bombay had no facilities for the student of drawing until 1822, when a Signor Constantino Augusto opened a 'School of Art for Ladies'. Augusto claimed in his prospectus that he was 'well versed in the doctrine of the angles of animo-anatomic proportion, and peculiarly correct in his treatment of landscape with chaste colouring

[1] Nugent, op. cit. i. 378.

[2] Forbes, *Memoirs*, Preface, xi.

and perspective'[1]—subjects that were all most necessary for a correct rendering of the Indian scene. In a similar way it was not until 1855 that Mrs. Augusta Becher could take up modelling in clay at Calcutta and take lessons from a Frenchman at the School of Art. In fact, as Emma Roberts pointed out, it was essential to have studied under a good master before leaving England as 'there is little in the way of tuition to be found in India, and no paintings from which amateurs can take hints for their improvement'.[2] In these circumstances, the cult of the picturesque might easily have gone by default had not Indian artists been ready to hand for its vicarious pursuit.

But even if their training had been adequate, it is likely that the British would sooner or later have turned to Indian artists to assist them in their task. Among the aspects of Indian life which specially captivated them were 'native characters', Indian festivals, ceremonies, and ritual. Yet although certain 'characters' were easily obtainable—for it was often only necessary to summon a compound servant to obtain a walking embodiment of the picturesque—other 'characters' were less accessible and could only be induced to 'sit' after much persuasive oratory. The Indian artist, based on the bazaar and himself a part of the Indian scene, could produce without difficulty a whole series of 'native' types, rendering them with exact fidelity to ordinary life. Even a festival could be sketched more easily by one who knew it from the inside, than by a British artist perched unhappily on the edge of the seething throng. For certain ceremonies, such as suttee, close observation was in any case out of the question for not only was the scene itself too harrowing, but too intimate an approach would have compromised the British in their role of impartial observers. To reduce the rite to paper in its raw horror, the co-operation of Indian artists was almost indispensable.

Finally, circulation of the British over vast areas of India explains how employment of Indian artists gradually became the custom. Until the later nineteenth century the British in India were inveterate travellers. Bishop Heber had all India as his diocese and his tours took him round the whole continent including Ceylon. Governors-General frequently made great tours, such as that of Lord Auckland in 1837, when he and his sisters slowly moved from Calcutta to Lahore accompanied by an enormous train. William Tennant, a Company chaplain,

[1] Quoted by D. Kincaid, *British Social Life in India* (London, 1938), 141.
[2] E. Roberts, *The East India Voyager* (London, 1839), 23.

writes in his *Indian Recreations*: 'the progress of the army to which I was attached, presented to my examination, during that period, a large extent of country, in a line of march of more than three thousand miles'.[1] Lady Nugent, when her husband was Commander-in-Chief, Bengal Army, accompanied him right across northern India up to the Doon, calling at all the important towns en route. Mrs. Becher, a soldier's wife, had no rest during her twenty-three years in India, moving from Calcutta to Simla, Ambala, Agra, Peshawar, Tibet, Ferozpore, Multan, Allahabad, Meerut, Lahore, Jullunder, and Amritsar. Even within the Bengal Presidency itself, a tract of country which extended up to Oudh, both civilians and military were constantly being moved from one station to another. Wide family connexions contributed to this movement, for service in India was often a family tradition; the Prinseps, Lewins, Bechers, Thackerays, for example, all having connexions in many parts of the country and regularly exchanging visits. In the course of all these journeys, the British mixed closely with one another. Along the Ganges lay a series of towns—Calcutta, Murshidabad, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore—all of them halting-places for passengers by water, and all containing European residents anxious to afford hospitality. During these visits news would be exchanged, views on life expressed, and sketch-books opened for admiring inspection. In the course of these exchanges, the skill of Indian artists in making miniatures on ivory or depicting 'native characters' and local festivals must all have been described and thus in friendly and informal ways the fashion of a few areas became the fashion of many.

[1] W. Tennant, *Indian Recreations* (London, 1804–8), Preface, xvii.

3

MURSHIDABAD

SPRAWLING in dusty confusion on both sides of the river Bagirathi, the town of Murshidabad held in 1750 a predominant position in eastern India, and it was here that painting for the British by Indian artists first developed.

During the early eighteenth century the city had become the political and commercial centre of eastern India. Superseding Dacca as capital of Bengal in 1702, it had rapidly expanded until under Shuja-ud-daula (1725–39) it had commanded the whole line of trade by which the wealth of India was flowing to the European settlements on the Hugli. By 1730 the city extended for five miles along the banks of the river and was thirty miles in circumference. Indeed only a little later Clive was to write: 'The city of Murshidabad is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city.'[1]

The head of the Murshidabad administration was the Nawab—in theory a viceroy of the Mughal emperor, but in fact a semi-independent sovereign—and it was as adjuncts to his court that Mughal artists had been eking out their existence. Very little is known of their work, but under Ali Vardi Khan (1740–56) one of them, Dip Chand, executed a number of social scenes depicting the Nawab on hunting expeditions and in audience.[2] About 1730 this painter colony was abruptly augmented by some Kayasths whose ancestors had formerly lived in the Partabgarh district of Udaipur State, Rajputana. Some time in the sixteenth century they had migrated to the Mughal court and had worked in the imperial studios at Delhi. Their status had fallen and on arriving at Murshidabad, led by a certain Dhani Ram, they settled in Balu Chak, a neighbouring village on the Bagirathi, and began work as bazaar craftsmen. From time to time they received commissions from the Nawab, such as the decorating of the walls of the new

[1] Quoted L. S. S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers; Murshidabad* (Calcutta, 1914), 207.

[2] For examples, see Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), e.g. I.M. 33—1912, D. 1175—1903, &c., bearing inscriptions such as 'W.F. 1764', 'W.F. 1766', 'By Deepchand'.

palace. Settlement in Murshidabad brought further rewards, for on two annual occasions local artists were fully engaged. Among the festivals lavishly celebrated were the Muharram and the Khwaja Khizr. At Muharram great processions filed through the city to mourn the death of Hasan and Husain, the grandsons of the Prophet, and to commemorate with doleful grandeur the battle of Kerbala. Enormous glittering towers, chiefly composed of mica 'cut into any shape, and made to assume all the colours of the rainbow', were carried through the streets and illuminated by a profusion of lamps (Fig. 27) with an effect that was 'perfectly magical'.[1] The Khwaja Khizr was a local festival of lights in which small lamps and a tottering palace-like structure were set adrift on the huge waters of the river. How impressive was the scene can be gathered from a note by Mrs. Sherwood, the novelist. 'The heavens were dark, and we were high above the water, but the river seemed to be almost covered with fire, on account of the multitudes of little vessels which had been set to float by the superstitious populace.'[2] Further details are given by Thomas Skinner who saw the festival in 1825 and was equally enchanted. 'The opposite side of the river', he writes, 'was lined by a wall of bamboo having towers at its flanks, and at intervals between them, they were illuminated with many lamps of talc, stained with a variety of colours for the purpose; it was intended to represent a fortress, and rockets were occasionally thrown from it.' More brilliant still was 'a large raft, nearly occupying the breadth of the stream; . . . it was a fairy palace, and I attributed its erection to the genii. Aladdin had been rubbing his wonderful lamp. . . . The raft was composed of plantain trees tied together; it formed a square surrounded by a wall; in the centre of each face was a magnificent gate made of various coloured talc, and so richly illuminated as to exhibit more hues than the rainbow; at each angle were large towers similarly made and lighted; on the tops of the wall were pale blue lights, and lamps of all colours hung in festoons about it; in the centre rose a splendid structure also of talc, resembling a Chinese pagoda in its shape, and so brilliantly lit, that it would be impossible, unless all the colours of nature could be wrought into one picture, to portray it.'[3] For both these festivals painting on sheets of mica was necessary and thus the newly arrived artists were intro-

[1] Roberts, *Scenes*, i. 26.

[2] Quoted F. J. H. Darton, *The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood from the Diaries of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood* (London, 1910), 294.

[3] T. Skinner, *Excursions in India* (London, 1832), i. 74–76.

duced at once to a material which was shortly to prove popular in Indian-British art.

Until the death of Ali Vardi Khan in 1756, Murshidabad retained its wealth and grandeur. There were signs, however, of gathering doom, for in the general chaos of northern India marauding bands of Marathas had reached the city and looted boats on the river. Under Ali Vardi Khan's successors, Siraj-ud-daula (1756–7) and Mir Jafar Khan (1757–61), the collection of revenue fell to pieces, administrative anarchy affected trade, and by 1760 it was clear that the British Company had become the actual master of eastern India. From then onwards more and more areas of Bengal were formally taken over, and by 1772 the Nawab at Murshidabad was virtually a British subject. When Lord Valentia visited him in 1803, he was wearing ornaments which had been taken out of pawn for the occasion and the creditors were waiting downstairs for the jewels to be returned as soon as the visitor had left.[1] The Marquess of Hastings, who saw him in 1814, was struck by the squalor and dilapidation of the palace. The room where he was received was 'poor, the wall whitewashed; arches ornamented with painted wood, coloured and carved with equal coarseness. A few English Fox-hunting prints, of the secondary rate, decorated one side.'[2] Some small pretence of state remained, but the final picture was of a Mughal noble drifting to ruin in the pitiful attempt to maintain his former splendour.

This gradual increase in the Company's power had one important effect—the attraction of more and more British to Murshidabad. Under Shuja-ud-daula a British factory had existed at Kasimbazar five miles away. Some of its members, who traded chiefly in cotton and silk hosiery, gloves and handkerchiefs, lived in pleasant country houses at Maidapore to the south on the main road from Calcutta. In 1767 barracks were constructed at Berhampore, six miles south of Murshidabad on the Bagirathi, and these were considered in 1786 'the finest and healthiest that any nation can boast of. They contain two regiments of Europeans, seven or eight sepoys, and fifteen or sixteen cannon.'[3] A Resident with the powers of a Political Agent was appointed to the Nawab's Durbar after 1775, and as time went on more and more officials were posted to the city. Looked at from the

[1] G. Annesley (Lord Valentia), *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in 1802–6* (London, 1809), i. 229.

[2] F. R. Hastings, *The Private Journals of the Marquess of Hastings* (London, 1858), i. 82.

[3] Sair-ul-Mutakharin. Quoted O'Malley, op. cit. 177.

view-point of the artists, Murshidabad had been gradually but completely transformed. Their courtly patrons had disappeared and in their place now stood the British—new, vigorous, but foreign.

Faced with this situation the local artists began in about 1770 to canvass the British bungalows. The Bhaskar ivory carvers who lived at Khagra, a quarter of Berhampore, had already made a set of chessmen for Clive[1] and were adepts in hawking their wares from bungalow to bungalow and in approaching boats which had tied up at the quays. If ivory workers could adjust their wares to British tastes, painters could do the same, and they began to experiment.

The first new type of picture was the miniature portrait on paper. Some of these portraits, probably painted in about 1782, depict Englishmen in cocked hats and queues, reclining on cushions with hookahs and *pan*-boxes to hand. They also show English ladies with elaborately dressed hair and voluminous skirts sitting straight-backed on their ivory chairs.[2] The style with its simple economy of line shows how easily Mughal portraiture could be adapted to British ideals, for while there is little that is un-Indian in the drawing, there is also nothing which is markedly un-British.

The second type of painting consisted of sets of local rulers ranging from the Nawabs of Murshidabad to Indian gentry living between Bengal and Oudh. The idea behind these sets may have been a kind of pictorial *Who 's Who*. The style was pale and insipid[3] and this is almost certainly a reflection of local British taste. But there is no evidence that these 'raja sets' achieved great popularity, though it is possible that as late as 1840 versions were still occasionally produced.

A third type was more daring. We have seen how one of the tasks of the Murshidabad artists was to paint on mica. This material was found in several parts of India including Bihar and was easily mined and cleaned. Until the late eighteenth century it was used mainly for festival illumination. Gradually other uses arose, one of which was the duplicating of standard designs. If the outline of

[1] See T. Sutton, 'Indian Chessmen', *The Beacon*, ii, 1922, No. 14; also *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. L. Ashton (London, 1950), Pl. 74, No. 347 (1337).

[2] They were discovered by Abanindranath Tagore and are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. For some of them see E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1908), 233, Pls. LXX–LXXII.

[3] Mr. J. C. French has a few examples in his collection.

a subject was drawn on mica, a tracing could easily be made by fastening the sheet to a piece of glass, standing it on a rough easel, adding a thin sheet of paper, and then setting the whole against the light. In this way original compositions could be repeated much as Mughal artists had duplicated designs by pricking them out on deerskin and rubbing pounce through the holes. This device was later to be employed on a large scale.[1] For the moment, however, another use was paramount. The medium of mica must have struck the British as a curious novelty and one or more individuals may well have suggested the depiction on mica of these very festivals and ceremonies which in their glittering splendour seemed the acme of the picturesque. The vogue for transparencies and the Eidophusikon in England in the last quarter of the eighteenth century may also have added to their appeal.[2] At any rate sets of festivals and ceremonies were painted on mica at Murshidabad from 1770 onwards, and in certain cases similar sets were done in water-colour on paper.[3] The subjects included festivals such as Diwali, Muharram, Ganesa puja, Kali puja, and Hook-swinging (Fig. 5), as well as Hindu and Muhammadan marriages and suttee scenes (Fig. 6).

The success of these sets was immediate and as visitors increased further themes were added. During these years Berhampore itself had become a large brigade station. The Ganges was fast becoming the main thoroughfare of north-east India. Budgerows (a kind of flat houseboat) moved regularly up and down its broad stream and Murshidabad grew popular as a comfortable halting-place. As the boats anchored in the Bagirathi, the travellers would disembark and visit the famous town, shabby but still splendid even in its decline. Visitors enjoyed the Nawab's pageantry described so vividly by Emily Shakespear.[4] The more distinguished liked to call on the 'Wallady Begum' or that great character the 'Mûnny Begum'. Others like Thomas Skinner would go and attend a nautch at the Nawab's palace or visit his fine aviary and menagerie.[5] This influx of Euro-

[1] Fanny Parks describes an alternative method of tracing. (See *The Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* (London, 1850), ii. 502.) The design is drawn on to the mica in lamp black mixed with linseed oil. A damp paper is then pressed on to the mica and an impression obtained.

[2] C. Hussey, *The Picturesque* (London, 1927), 239, 241.

[3] A number of mica drawings in the family collection of Ishwari Prasad were ascribed by tradition to the period 1780–1800.

[4] E. Shakespear, 'Extracts from the Diary of Emily, wife of John Talbot Shakespear, B.C.S.', *Bengal Past and Present*, vi, July–Sept. 1910, 133–79.

[5] Skinner, op. cit. i. 68–76.

peans provided the artists with a large market and they accordingly supplemented their sets of festivals with pictures of servants, castes, trades, and conveyances; subjects which, as will be seen in the next chapter, they had borrowed from successful artists at the neighbouring station of Patna.

Murshidabad artists experimented in yet one further direction. A bundle of mica 'patterns' handed down by an artist family from Murshidabad days includes careful tracings made from Captain Mundy's *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, published in 1832. There are copies of his drawings of 'Elephants Crossing a Nullah', 'Scene near Hardwar', 'The Lion and the Elephant', 'The Tiger's Attack on the Elephant', and 'The Death of the Antelope', and with them are a number of original compositions on mica of hunting scenes showing English gentlemen in top-hats and cut-aways, as well as Indian noblemen, hunting tigers, leopards, wild boar, deer, and rhinoceros. These pictures vividly portray the Murshidabad countryside, especially the tract east of the Bagirathi known as the Bagri, which provided excellent game for sportsmen. So good was the sport that Governors-General, such as the Marquess of Hastings, were taken there. Some pictures show the river with its steep banks and beyond it the western uplands with their groves of trees. In some, elephants plod placidly through the long grass, the dogs and beaters on the look-out for game. Others again are more dramatic: an Englishman is being mauled by a tiger, a leopard is cornered snarling up a tree, a wild pig suddenly turns on its pursuer, or a tiger leaps on an elephant's back, clawing at the luckless shikari behind the howdah. There are also scenes of English soldiers manœuvring with flags and cannon. None of these sketches ever developed into successful standard sets but they are significant as evidence of how Indian artists explored British tastes. The hand is Indian, but influencing the style and content is the example of the British sporting print and the British taste for picturesque adventure.

Indian-British pictures seem to have been produced at Murshidabad until at least the year 1850. By that time the city was rapidly losing its British character. The textiles of Kasimbazar had been killed by Western competition. British power had flooded north and although Berhampore was still a cantonment and the headquarters of the local civil administration, British numbers had been greatly lessened. 'Lugaoed [moored] at the civil station of Berhampur, which looks quite deserted', wrote Fanny Parks in 1844. 'Nothing is going forward; no

crowds of natives on the bank with various articles for sale, and no picturesque boats on the river.'[1] By 1857, barring a few officers, the troops were entirely Indian, and in 1870 the cantonment itself was finally closed.

[1] Parks, op. cit. ii. 394.

4

PATNA

WHILE Indian-British art was developing at Murshidabad, shining white European bungalows were springing up at Patna, another great city farther west along the Ganges. Under the Mughals Patna had never been a great artistic centre and although its Muhammadan governors had employed Mughal artists, there is no evidence that any strongly marked local style had developed.[1] Yet Patna, like Murshidabad, was undergoing a social revolution and various circumstances in the later eighteenth century were to make it a centre of Indian-British painting.

For more than a century, since the establishment of the British factory, Patna had been exporting sugar, lac, cotton cloth, indigo, musk from Bhutan, and saltpetre for gunpowder. In 1767 Mrs. Kindersley wrote: 'Patna is a place of very great traffic. The English Company have one of their most considerable factories there.'[2] James Forbes in 1785 writes that it is 'a large populous trading city, and from the river makes a good appearance. There we found a number of vessels employed in its commerce, and the bazar well stocked with merchandise, particularly abounding with coppersmiths, cooks, and confectioners'.[3] During the seventeen-fifties the city was less affected by the general anarchy than was lower Bengal and as a result it rose steadily in prosperity. Indeed by 1805 so completely had it eclipsed Murshidabad that Mrs. Deane ignores the latter entirely, remarking that 'Patna is supposed to be next to Benares, the richest place in India.'[4]

Factors other than trade had also attracted the British. As military operations moved farther north, the Company had assumed increasing charge of all Bengal. Patna was made a centre of government. In 1770 a Council was appointed which gradually took control of the revenue administration, until in 1781 Revenue

[1] For a possible example of this provincial Mughal painting at Patna see P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals* (Oxford, 1924), Pl. LXVIII. See also Note II, p. 115.

[2] J. Kindersley, *Letters from the East Indies* (London, 1777), 100–1.

[3] Forbes, *Memoirs*, iv. 91.

[4] A. Deane, *A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan, 1804* (London, 1823), 61.

Chiefs were formally installed. In 1790 the administration of the criminal law was taken over and a new appellate court set up there. In 1798 the Patna countryside was formally constituted a district and by 1800 the city was the headquarters of one of the eleven provincial committees between which the vast territories of the Bengal Presidency had been divided. Nearby was Dinapore, headquarters of one of the great military divisions of the Bengal Army, a station that was never to be without a European regiment throughout the nineteenth century. More and more mansions grew up along the Ganges and by 1800 Patna had not only a Collector, magistrates and judges, the Commandant of the Provincial Battalion, the Commercial Resident, and the Opium Agent, but many other Europeans such as barristers, lawyers, chaplains, doctors, merchants, and planters. The British in fact had become by far the most powerful community, and the same causes that had brought an Indian-British style of painting into existence at Murshidabad now repeated themselves at Patna with even greater effect.

We have seen that in 1750 the city did not possess any large or thriving colony of artists. In about 1760, however, some Kayasth artists of Murshidabad moved to Patna, taking up a lowly position in the Lodikatra, Chauk, and Diwan suburbs of the city. Their motives for quickly abandoning Murshidabad are not very clear but it is possible that with the local court declining, the future appeared gloomy, while Miran, the son of Nawab Mir Jafar, who had been placed in charge of revenue collection at Murshidabad from 1757 to 1760, seems to have inaugurated a minor reign of terror. Aversion from Murshidabad seems, at any rate, to have played a bigger part in the move than an attraction to Patna. Yet the family connexion with Murshidabad was important, for by 1790 one of their number, a certain Sewak Ram (*c.* 1770–*c.* 1830), was fully established as a Patna artist and was painting in a similar style.

The pictures of Sewak Ram which have so far come to light fall into two distinct groups. The first, which was formerly part of the family collection of his descendant, Ishwari Prasad,[1] portrays Indian occupations of the kind that generally appealed to the British. There are holy men, dancing girls, a cultivator harvesting paddy, a pedlar (Fig. 15), a carpenter, a grain-seller, a potter, a brick-maker, a weaver, musicians, an oil-press, and a pony-cart—the equivalents of the cranberry girls, whalebone-scrapers, and peat-cutters which in England had already en-

[1] Now authors' collection.

larged the current notion of the picturesque. Such *firka* sets (*firka* being the Urdu for 'occupation') were a clear departure from ordinary Mughal usage, for previously painting had been concerned mainly with the illustration of literature or the depiction of court life.

The second group consists of eight large pictures, formerly the property of the Earl of Minto (Fig. 17).[1] Unlike the *firka* pictures, many of which average 8 inches on their longest sides, these pictures measure 22 inches by 16. They are illustrations of scenes such as the Muharram, the Dassehra, the Durga puja, marriages, and Hook-swinging, and in five cases descriptive notes are recorded overleaf. The writer, who may have been either a British resident of Patna or even the Earl himself, notes, for example, that the Durga puja 'is regularly kept up in Bengal but the Hindoos of the Province of Bahar [in which Patna was situated] seldom engage in these ceremonies'. It is possible, therefore, that in making the picture, Sewak Ram was drawing on his memories of Murshidabad. Of the Harihar Jatra, on the other hand, which is a festival local to Patna, the writer states: 'Herrihur Chitter is a place of worship dedicated to Herrihur Nath at Sonapoor in the district of Sarun in the Northern Division of the Province of Bahar, at which place there is annually a Maila or religious assembly on the day of the full moon in the month of Cartic (October or November) when a vast multitude of people assemble from all parts to pay their devotion to Herrihur nath and to bathe at the junction of the river Gunduck with the Ganges—1809.'[2] Two of the eight pictures bear the same date, 1809, and three others—two of them studies of the Muharram festival—are inscribed 'Sheiwak Ram delt. 1807.'

In both these groups the style shows a conscious adoption of the British technique. Perspective is employed in a manner not unlike the Daniells'. Watercolour as well as the indigenous body-colour is used. The figures are painted in a sombre sepia. The clothes are dull white with soft grey shadows, enlivened by clear touches of deep crimson, dull gold, and peacock blue. The faces have all a formalized precision, and are characterized by pointed noses, heavy eyebrows, deep-set staring eyes, and haggard expressions.[3] Between these studies and

[1] Sold at Sotheby's on 14 June 1954 and distributed among the India Office Library, the Chester Beatty Library, and the Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section).

[2] Sonepur, immediately opposite Patna on the northern side of the Ganges, is still the scene of a huge annual fair.

[3] Illustrated, M. Archer, *Patna Painting* (London, 1947), Pls. 1–4.

their English parallels there are certain differences, but the general affinity is obvious.

Sewak Ram had succeeded in pleasing the British and within a decade he was joined in Patna by another Kayasth artist, Hulas Lal (*c.* 1785–1875). Hulas and his ancestors had for many years been working in Benares and his great-grandfather, known as 'Chandji', had a wide reputation. Little, however, is known of their painting. Of Hulas himself more facts have survived, for in 1942 his grandson, Shyam Bihari Lal, still owned one of his sketch-books. It has 'Hoolas Lal, Draughtsman' inscribed on the fly-leaf, and several of its drawings are dated 1816. It shows clearly the kind of patronage which was then obtaining. The drawings of an Englishman and of an English boy in Empire dress shooting an arrow can only have been intended for British clients, and many of the samples of picturesque India—women carrying their babies, a man with pots on his shoulders, a heavily loaded bullock-cart, and a group of dancing-girls—are of exactly the same kind as Sewak Ram's. More significant is the light that the sketch-book throws on the actual methods by which the Indian artist adjusted his technique. Some of the drawings are squared up ready for enlargement, others are obviously 'notes from life' intended to be worked up later into larger pictures. The note-book further contains exercises in perspective and sketches of landscape and boats, identical in manner with the pen-and-ink drawings of British artists. To explain these pictures it is not enough merely to assume that Hulas Lal had contact with Sewak Ram and the artists of Murshidabad; he must have received a deliberate training at the hands of the British, a training that evinces itself in the constant exercises, the practice sketching, and the careful copying in which the sketch-book abounds.[1]

Several other artists were also painting at this time. One of them was possibly the father of Hulas Lal and had moved to Patna late in life. He was known as 'Lallji' and his name has been preserved by Bishop Heber, who refers to him in his *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*. Heber was greatly impressed by his European style—particularly by a portrait in oils.[2] Another artist was Jairam Das, a cousin of Hulas Lal; and there were

[1] A family tradition preserved by Shyam Bihari Lal, the grandson of Hulas Lal, records that his grandfather had actually been a draughtsman in Company employ.

[2] Heber, *Narrative*, i. 286–7. Quoted Section 5, pp. 47–48. See also Note III, p. 115.

almost certainly a few others working either separately or as workshop assistants.[1]

All these artists quickly became so prolific that by 1812, when Lady Nugent passed up and down the Ganges, it had become customary for Patna painters to approach the travellers with their pictures, both on the boats and in the houses where they stayed. 'About 2 o'clock we sat down to tiffin—', she writes, 'a party of about fifty people. Afterwards, Mr. Wilton[2] showed me some specimens of ivory work, etc., and several people attended with drawings, for sale, and I bought a number of different sorts, done by natives, to add to my collection.'[3] Some of these pictures were evidently of Mughal emperors, for the next day she writes: 'Arranged the drawings I bought at Patna, and made a list of the Mogul Dynasty to accompany the miniatures of the Emperors.'[4] On her way downstream, Lady Nugent again halted at Patna and this time the painters accosted her on the boat. One may imagine the budgerow tying up to the bank amidst much shouting, and the painters among the crowds of tradesmen and hawkers clamouring to sell their goods. She records: 'All the morning crowded with visitors, tradesmen, etc. Bought a great many drawings.'[5]

When the surgeon, Francis Buchanan, made his economic survey of Patna and Gaya for the Company in 1811–12, he was able to utilize a Patna artist for illustrating his report. Amongst the Buchanan Manuscripts at the India Office Library is a volume of forty-two paintings, bearing an 1812 watermark, illustrating the summer and winter dress of the various classes of Muhammadans and Hindus of Bihar. It was from these paintings that the engravings in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India* were made. Compared with the work of Sewak Ram and Hulas Lal, they are obviously inferior, and were probably made for Buchanan by some humbler artist-member of one of the families. The haggard faces and hard grey-brown shadows are cruder versions of Sewak Ram's, the painting itself is coarse and heavy and the figures are shown without background.[6] In the

[1] Illustrated, Archer, op. cit., Pl. 5. Rajaram Varma, a photographer at Benares, informs us that his great-grandfather, Munshi Pyari Lal, was a Patna painter and would presumably have also been painting at about this time.

[2] A lithograph of Wilton's mansion by Sir Charles D'Oyly in the *Behar Lithographic Scrapbook* (Patna, 1828–30) suggests that it is the house now used by Patna College.

[3] Nugent, *Journal*, i. 225–6.

[4] Ibid. 233. These raja sets had been taken over from Murshidabad.

[5] Ibid. ii. 185.

[6] I.O.L. MSS. Eur. C. 14. See also Note IV, p. 115.

Fine Arts Section of his report, Buchanan describes the functions of the Patna artists and gives some useful figures.

> The painters (Mosouwer) possess a good deal more merit than those in the districts hitherto surveyed [Dinajpur, Purnea, Shahabad and Bhagalpur], although they are as far behind Europeans as the statuaries are. They have many sets of miniatures representing the princes of the house of Timur, and, especially in the minute attention to various parts of dress, these are well executed. They also sell various groups recording Indian scenes and customs, in which some attention is even shown to exhibit the effects of light and shade; but I suspect that they are copied from the drawing of some persons who have been acting under European guidance, and that they could not make any new drawing in which attention was paid to these circumstances. They are all Hindus, and are very superior workmen to the painters that were employed in the palaces of Tippoo Sultan. An inferior description of painters are at Patna called Nukkash. They entirely resemble in their style the daubers of Puraniya but are much employed to disfigure the walls of the galleries in front of the houses, that serve as shops, or for receiving strangers.[1]

In Table 41 of his Appendix he estimates that there are '12 Musawir wallehs and 12 Nukkash, inferior painters'. Even if these figures are treated as an overstatement, it is clear that by the early nineteenth century the new type of art was established.

From 1815 to 1830 'Patna' painting rapidly developed—to such an extent that the term is often still employed by Indian dealers to describe Indian-British painting as a whole. Various factors were responsible, and perhaps the most significant was the special character of the British community itself. This, as Emma Roberts pointed out, was partly due to Patna's geographical position. Being midway between upper and lower India it was constantly visited by travellers and the regular arrival of new-comers helped to preserve its intellectual vigour. It was neither so far from Calcutta that books and newspapers became stale before they arrived, nor so near that its residents were discouraged from providing their own amusements and pastimes. 'It is not, therefore, surprising', says Miss Roberts, 'that the head-quarters, Bankipore, should always be distinguished for the intellectuality and elegance of its principal residents.'[2] The general atmosphere, then, would in any case have favoured artistic production; but in

[1] F. Buchanan, *An Account of the District of Bihar and Patna in 1811–12* (Patna, 1936), ii. 612.

[2] Roberts, *Scenes*, i. 174.

1818 there arrived in Patna a quite exceptional Irishman who gave a new and powerful stimulus to the prevailing passion for the picturesque.

Sir Charles D'Oyly, the Company's Opium Agent at Patna until 1833, had for long been a sedulous explorer of romantic countrysides and a competent amateur artist. While in Dacca from 1808 to 1812, he had taken lessons from Chinnery, and before reaching Patna he had already published three books of engravings—*The Costume and Customs of Modern India* (1813), *The European in India* (1813), and *The Antiquities of Dacca* (1816). He had also prepared the paintings which were to be published after his death as *Views of Calcutta and its Environs* (1848). Arriving in Patna, he proceeded to publish his poem, *Tom Raw, the Griffin* (1828), and *Sketches of the New Road from Calcutta to Gyah* (1830). He continued to sketch with great energy and even went so far as to found his own lithographic press, 'The Behar Lithography' from which there streamed a number of productions—*The Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook* (1828–30), *Indian Sports* (1829), and *The Costumes of India* (1830). All these were from D'Oyly's own drawings. As a result of their friendship, Christopher Webb-Smith of Arrah,[1] an amateur naturalist, was persuaded to collaborate in the production of *The Feathered Fowl of Hindustan* (1828) and *Oriental Ornithology* (1829). In these lithographs, Webb-Smith drew the birds, while D'Oyly supplied the landscapes. Love-birds were shown poised against a still life of artists' lithographic materials, wild roses, and plums; red avadayats against a landscape of Rhotasgarh; quails by the Bodh Gaya temple; and snipe flying over a river with cattle grazing on the banks. Here were combined those two interests which inspired so many of the British during their sojourn in India—natural history and the picturesque. Besides producing such ambitious works, D'Oyly made numerous lithographs from the sketches of his friends and amused his neighbours with portraits of themselves and their pets.[2] His enthusiasm for sketching was shared by his wife, Eliza, and Mrs. Fenton, who stayed with the D'Oylys in 1827, refers to 'her large and elegant mind, her taste, her sensibility, all others seem as beings of an inferior order'.[3]

D'Oyly's devotion to art compelled wide admiration.

The establishment of a lithographic press [wrote Emma Roberts] throught he

[1] In one of D'Oyly's scrapbooks in the I.O.L. (Lithography Collection, W. 35, vol. i) there is a portrait of Webb-Smith, standing with his paints and an easel against a background of books and sculpture with snipe lying on a table in front of him.

[2] See Note V, p. 115.

[3] Mrs. Fenton, *The Journal of* (London, 1901), 174.

spirited exertions of Sir Charles D'Oyly, to whose taste for the fine arts the scientific world is so deeply indebted, is alone sufficient to render Patna a place of no ordinary interest to travellers in search of information. The vicinity of the province of Behar to the Rajmahal hills, and the still wilder ranges of Nepaul, has enabled a circle of amateurs to collect specimens of the rarest and most beautiful natural productions of the East. A work upon ornithology, which issues regularly from the Behar press, contains coloured drawings from living subjects of the most interesting individuals of the feathered tribe to be found on the continent of India. Such pursuits must necessarily tend to improve the taste of those who are so fortunate as to be thrown into the society at Bankipore: a talent for drawing, one of the most useful accomplishments in India, may be cultivated to the greatest advantage under the auspices of the directors of the press, and there can be no more effectual preservation from the ennui of some stations, and the dissipation of others, than the direction of the mind towards useful studies connected with the history, natural or political, of the country.[1]

So great was D'Oyly's reputation that travellers on their way up the Ganges used to moor their budgerows at his landing stage and spend the night enjoying his society.[2] Bishop Heber, for example, 'found great amusement and interest in looking over Sir Charles' drawing-books; he is the best gentleman-artist I ever met with. He says India is full of beautiful and picturesque country, if people would but stir a little way from the banks of the Ganges, and his own drawings (Fig. 4) and paintings certainly make good his assertion.'[3] Captain Mundy also dined there in 1829. 'The fleet dropped down to Bankipore, the English civil station near Patna; and the greater portion of our party dined with Sir Charles D'Oyly. Here we met with a hospitable welcome and good cheer, and in the evening we heard some beautiful music, and saw some splendid drawings of the talented Baronet.'[4]

This enthusiast influenced the local Indian artists as both employer and patron. After establishing the 'Behar Lithography', he engaged Jairam Das to transfer the sketches to stone, and in at least three instances in D'Oyly's scrap-books, preserved in the India Office Library—'The Holy Man', 'A Hook-swinging', and 'A Juggernaut Procession'—the inscription 'Jai Ram Doss delt' shows that

[1] Roberts, *Scenes*, i. 174–5.

[2] Sir Charles D'Oyly lived in the large bungalow at Bankipore, which until 1942 was occupied by the Civil Surgeon.

[3] Heber, op. cit. i. 238.

[4] Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, ii. 173.

the Patna artist also provided the drawings.[1] Jairam Das, as we have seen, was already a practising artist when D'Oyly reached Patna, and besides working at the press he seems to have produced much independent work. The Royal Asiatic Society possesses a little book of thirty-six drawings in water-colour and pencil of 'Men and Animals in Hindustan, by Jyarama, a native of Patna', presented by Colonel Joseph D'Oyly in 1834. A number of miniature portraits on ivory (Fig. 11) in the Patna Museum are also attributed to him—one of them of an English lady with brown ringlets, a red velvet dress and pearls, and an embroidered veil over her head.[2] The style of Jairam Das is very unlike that of Sewak Ram. Both artists use the Western techniques of shading and stippling, both treat landscape realistically in the Western manner. Jairam Das, however, does so with a greater delicacy and refinement which may well be due to D'Oyly's persistent influence.

By thus employing one of the Patna artists, D'Oyly must have done much to diffuse his technical standards among the rest. He seems, for example, to have supplied the painters with actual specimens of British work, for Ishwari Prasad's family collection contains examples of D'Oyly's own lithographs and a bundle of engravings illustrating British country houses, preserved along with pictures by the Patna artists themselves. Some of D'Oyly's lithographs were even incorporated into their standard productions: birds were freely copied from his natural history books, and the fakir, 'Ord Bhawn', who appears in his *Costume of India* became a feature of later *firka* sets.

The results of this stimulus are seen in the expansion which ensued from 1830 onwards. Besides Jairam Das and Hulas Lal, three other artists were busily at work—Jhumak Lal (d. 1884), Fakir Chand Lal (*c.* 1790–*c.* 1865), and Tuni Lal (b. *c.* 1800).[3] Their pictures consisted mainly of *firka* sets, but Hulas Lal attempted

[1] 'The Holy Man', W. 35, vol. i; 'A Hook-swinging', Scrap Album, I 305/24 H 6; 'A Juggernaut Procession', W. 35, vol. i.

[2] Illustrated, P. C. Manuk, 'The Patna School of Painting', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, xxix, Sept. 1943, 143–69, Pl. 16. That miniatures on ivory were now in active production is further suggested by a letter of Sir Edward Paget, Commander-in-Chief, Bengal Army, from 1823 to 1825: 'I have just received a very pretty epistle from Lady D'Oyly at Patna, accompanied by two boxes, one containing two native portraits on ivory, the other four oil-coloured landscapes or rather waterscapes from the pencil of Sir Charles and intended for the Lady Harriet'. 'Letters of Sir Edward Paget', *Bengal Past and Present*, xxiv, Jan.–Dec. 1922, 98.

[3] Illustrated, Archer, op. cit., Pls. 10–12.

somewhat larger scenes such as 'Wrestling and Sword-play' (Fig. 16), 'Women carousing at Diwali', 'The Holi Festival', 'Men's Music and Drinking Party'.[1] The medium was still water-colour, and besides painting on paper, the artists turned more and more to mica. Originating at Murshidabad, as we have seen, this kind of painting had reached Patna by 1800 and sets on mica illustrating 'characters' and occupations had quickly become a Patna speciality. To these were now added sets depicting varieties of transport, different species of birds, and finally festival scenes of exactly the kind current at Murshidabad. The market for such sets was growing and British residents and travellers were finding in them the ideal souvenirs for friends and relatives in England.

In the period 1850–70 this expanding interest was capitalized still further. It is known that both Fakir Chand Lal and Tuni Lal had established family workshops and their sons, Shiva Lal (*c.* 1817–*c.*1887) and Shiva Dayal Lal (*c.* 1820–80), were now to become the leading artists. Shiva Lal, in particular, obtained a great reputation throughout the British community not only for portraits on ivory but for more developed scenes of the kind invented by Sewak Ram and Hulas Lal. At the height of his fame he is said to have made a practice of travelling up to the British station at Bankipore in his palanquin, completing the essentials of a miniature portrait in an hour, and finally delivering the finished ivory for a charge of 2 mohurs. It is in his scenes of Indian life, however, that his dexterity as an artist is most apparent. A number of these pictures have survived, executed partly on mica and partly in water-colour on paper. All of them show an unusual delicacy of line and colour, a sensitivity to natural grouping, and above all a supple naturalism which is unequalled by any other artist of Patna.[2]

Such skill was only achieved by vigorous schooling and a set of pencil sketches entitled 'Elephant Poses' shows with what elaborate care Shiva Lal exploited the British practice of drawing from life. He was also much aided by special friendships. One of his patrons, William Tayler, who as Commissioner of Patna from

[1] Illustrated, Archer, op. cit., Pls. 7–9.

[2] Illustrated, Manuk, op. cit., Pl. 15; Archer, op. cit., Pl. 15. A number of carefully finished scenes such as 'A Muslim Wedding' (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; illustrated, Archer, op. cit., Pl. 16 and N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926), Pl. 48), 'Camels by an Oasis' (Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.S. 99—1949; illustrated, Manuk, op. cit., Pl. 14), and 'Elephant Gathering Fodder' (illustrated, Manuk, op. cit., Pl. 13) were probably made for Europeans such as Tayler and Lyall.

1855 to 1857 was in a good position for publicizing his work, was a keen amateur artist and his painting 'The Defence of Arrah House', done in 1858, is still extant. In 1842 he published *Sketches Illustrating the Manners and Customs of Indians and Anglo-Indians*, and after he retired, his autobiography, *Thirty-eight Years in India*, with a hundred illustrations based on sketches made in India from 1829 onwards. Many of these depict Indian costumes and village life. Shiva Lal paid visits to Tayler's house in Chajju Bagh, and not only learnt some English, but increased his knowledge of British art. Another patron was Dr. D. R. Lyall, Personal Assistant in charge of Opium, through whose efforts a scheme was worked out for a set of mural paintings in the Gulzarbagh opium factory. Shiva Lal prepared a series of pencil sketches showing the various stages in the making of opium,[1] but for some reason, perhaps the death of Lyall, he never executed these paintings—the sketches serving instead as models for a series on mica (Fig. 19).[2] Lyall was killed in the Mutiny riots and Shiva Lal is said to have gone weeping to his house and painted his portrait as he lay dead. One of his last patrons was a relation of Sir Charles D'Oyly, Sir W. H. D'Oyly, Opium Agent in Patna in 1873.

Besides executing commissions himself, Shiva Lal developed the family workshop in which the now well-established sets of 'native characters' (Fig. 20), festivals, and transport were produced on mica and paper. Paintings on paper were priced at from 1 to 2 rupees, those on mica were wrapped in paper and sold in packets of twelve known as *puria* for 2 rupees 10 annas.[3] The basic designs for these pictures were now almost entirely traditional—the artists merely copying the compositions which had been invented by earlier artists such as Sewak Ram and Jairam Das, or which had filtered down to Patna from Murshidabad. Under Shiva Lal at least six extra artists were employed—Gopal Lal (1840–1911), his elder brother, Gur Sahay Lal (1835–1915), Bani Lal (1850–1901), his cousin Bahadur Lal I (1850–1933), Kanhai Lal (1856–1916), and Jaigovind Lal (1878–1908). Most of these entered the shop as youths, beginning their careers as

[1] Authors' collection. [2] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), 07361. I.S.

[3] Probable examples are Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), 4657 and 4658. The sets were sold not only in Patna, but as far afield as Dinapore, Benares, Allahabad, and Calcutta—Shiva Lal himself often doing the work of marketing. Ishwari Prasad can remember accompanying his grandfather on some of these expeditions. On these journeys Shiva Lal sometimes sold pictures for his castemen. Jhumak Lal, who knew no English, is said to have supplied Shiva Lal with a number of pictures for sale on commission.

apprentices who made brushes from goat, squirrel, hog, and buffalo bristles, and prepared the pigments for the painters. A little later they were given the more advanced task of filling in colours and by dint of watching Shiva Lal and others at work they acquired facility in stock designs.

It is only from the pictures of Gur Sahay Lal and Bani Lal that we can assess the work of Shiva Lal's workshop assistants.[1] Of these two, Gur Sahay Lal was much the older, and his style as shown in sets of 'native characters' and birds[2] obviously retained something of the earlier manner—the large eyes and curved lashes, the heavy brows and deep folds, the feeling for geometric pattern. His colour scheme is also more limited and rarely moves outside a gingerish brown, a blue-grey, and occasionally a crimson and a mustard yellow. Among pictures attributed to him is a copy of an English sporting print, made at the instance of Rai Sultan Bahadur, a landowner of Patna City. Bani Lal, on the other hand, seems considerably freer from the earlier style. Many examples of his 'native characters' have survived (Fig. 26) and it is clear from their easy naturalism that a highly competent technician was at work.[3] His colour scheme is bright and fresh, including pinks, yellows, pale blues, and purples. Various mannerisms continually recur: a branch of a tree leans across the sky, a corner of a thatched roof enters the picture. His treatment is soft and delicate through an avoidance of harsh outlines and a liberal use of stippling, and his birds have often a glossy brilliance. His paintings in fact are something more than workshop copies and it is not surprising that beside availing himself of Shiva Lal's managerial skill, he also executed private commissions and made personal drawings. Some of his ivory miniatures have survived—a portrait of a wealthy Kayasth gentleman, another of an Indian lady, another of Lord Lytton. There are also pictures of varied subjects amongst his son's papers —Arrah railway station, a dead goldfinch, some stiff bouquets of garish roses, and a drawing of a woman showing a mango to her child.[4]

At this same time Shiva Lal's cousin, Shiva Dayal Lal (*c.* 1820–80), was also supplying the British with portraits and *firka* sets. His skill as a portrait painter on ivory had secured for him a considerable practice and like his cousin he also

[1] Of the work of Kanhai Lal and Jaigovind Lal nothing has so far survived. Bahadur Lal I has left only a single picture—a painting of a Spotted Owlet (illustrated, Archer, op. cit., Pl. 33). Gopal Lal's Holi and Ganesh puja scenes are in the Patna Museum (illustrated, ibid., Pl. 20), but nothing else is known.

[2] Ibid., Pls. 18, 19, also 27–28.

[3] Ibid., Pls. 21–32.

[4] Collection of Shyam Bihari Lal.

possessed a family workshop which employed at least two assistants. Shiva Dayal, however, seems to have had less facility than his cousin and to have been a less astute business man. As British patronage declined, especially after 1870, he lost his market to Shiva Lal and was forced to rely rather on local Indian patrons, who were imitating their British rulers and adopting their tastes in pictures as well as in furniture and decoration. Shiva Dayal Lal thus found a sale for his pictures amongst the Indian gentry of Patna City. For a time he was the retained artist of a wealthy landlord, Rai Sultan Bahadur, whose portrait he made and for whom he depicted the Chautari Ganga puja procession with Rai Sultan at its head.[1]

His principal assistants were Jamuna Prasad (1859–84) and Bahadur Lal II (1850–1910), both sons of Jhumak Lal. A set of trades which has survived[2] was probably painted by Jamuna Prasad as well as a picture of 'Dancing-girls' and 'Women Carousing'.[3] The pictures of trades are on the same ample scale as 'Women Carousing' and include faces which exactly conform to his standard type. Besides these pictures, some studies of birds have also been preserved.[4] Bahadur Lal II succeeded Shiva Dayal Lal as the retained artist of Rai Sultan Bahadur and executed bird and flower paintings for him. An album was prepared containing numerous pictures of English flowers—stock, salpiglossis, poppy, narcissus—the English names written in Urdu characters beneath. Many of these flowers had been newly imported into India by the British and were attracting the attention of Indian landowners. Similarly a record was also made of various birds in Rai Sultan Bahadur's aviary. Besides this work Bahadur Lal II made sets of native characters and a study of musical instruments.[5]

All these pictures by Shiva Dayal Lal and his assistants are in the Patna style, but as this workshop came to rely upon an Indian public rather than a British one, it returned to the bright colours of Mughal painting. We have seen how the earlier productions of the Patna painters, and even of Shiva Lal and some of his

[1] Apart from a group of musicians in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and some mica paintings, no other examples of his work are definitely known, although the two 'Musicians' in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section) I.S. 46577 and 46578, are probably his work.

[2] This set, previously in the possession of P. C. Manuk, is now split between the British Museum (the milkman, the potter, and toy-maker); the Victoria and Albert Museum, Indian Section (the grain and vegetable seller, I.S. 66—1949), and the authors' collection (the fish girl and sweet-seller).

[3] Illustrated, Archer, op. cit., Pls. 35, 36.

[4] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.S. 92—1949 to 96—1949.

[5] Illustrated, Archer, op. cit., Pls. 37–44.

assistants, had been characterized by sombre colouring derived from British water-colours and prints. But sepias, olive greens, and indigo blues never appealed to Indian taste. The pictures from Shiva Dayal Lal's shop are accordingly marked by vivid colouring, precise outlines, and, in the case of the set of trades, a return to the opaque colouring of Indian miniatures. Shiva Dayal Lal's 'Musicians' (Fig. 25) are dressed in brilliant reds, Jamuna Prasad's 'Carousing Women' are gay with saris of yellow and scarlet, green and deep blue, set against blue-grey walls and mauve curtains. His 'Dancing-girls' wear pink and blue blouses, and Bahadur Lal's birds shine with peacock blue, chestnut brown, and bottle green.

After 1880 painting in Patna gradually declined. Shiva Dayal Lal died in that year and Shiva Lal seven years later. Neither had any sons to carry on the family business, and after their deaths the 'shops' lingered for only a decade, dependent on the haphazard purchases of tourists and Indian gentlemen.[1] When, in 1888, T. N. Mukharji made his survey of painting in India, he did not even mention Patna, so insignificant had the trade now grown.

[1] See Note VI, p. 116.

5

BENARES

THE third city of eastern India to develop Indian-British painting was the famous pilgrimage centre of Benares. During the early eighteenth century it had formed a part of the Mughal province of Oudh. It does not seem, however, to have come within the cultural orbit of Faizabad or Lucknow, for the local landlords had apparently no interests beyond their own security and comfort. A new palace was erected at Ramnagar by Raja Balwant Singh (1738–70) and a temple added to the gardens at Kutlupur by Raja Chet Singh (1772–81). But neither of these landlords appear to have maintained any artists. Oral tradition has preserved the names of two painters—Chandji and Hub Lal—both of whom lived at Benares in the middle of the century. Chandji was grandfather of the Patna artist Hulas Lal, but nothing is known of his activities and no picture by him or by Hub Lal has so far come to light. Much later, between the years 1800 and 1830, two kinds of inferior bazaar painters appear in the first censuses made at Benares for the Company by its servants John Deane and James Prinsep. Both kinds of artist were termed *nuqqash*, some designing patterns for brocades and embroideries and others being said to decorate the walls of houses.[1] Specimens of their work were doubtless in existence in the early nineteenth century, but to James Prinsep, at least, their later work had little appeal. 'The representation of figures on the house-walls', he wrote, 'is not quite so common at Benares as at Brindabun and Hurdwar; but it is, nevertheless, frequent. The paintings represent processions and feats of arms, and to European taste are far from ornamental; but they are quite decorous.'[2] The *musavir* or artist proper, on the other hand, was conspicuously absent.

This artistic vacuum was due to a number of causes. The district of Benares was theoretically part of a Muhammadan empire and under the Nawab of Oudh.

[1] For a discussion of *nuqqash* see Mehta, *Studies*, 83–84. It is unlikely, however, that Mr. Mehta's Pl. 34 is by a *nuqqash*. With its naturalistic style, it was more probably made by one of Ishwari Narain Singh's flower painters. (See p. 48.)

[2] J. Prinsep, *Benares Illustrated in a Series of Drawings* (Calcutta, 1830, 1831, and 1833), 15.

But it was in fact administered in the early eighteenth century by an efficient Hindu landlord, Mansa Ram, who by 1722 had so consolidated his position that a local mint and an independent court of justice had been founded. Mansa Ram was succeeded by his son Raja Balwant Singh (1738–70) who grew so powerful that by 1757 he was virtually independent. The Company had meanwhile fallen out with his overlord, Nawab Shuja-ud-daula of Oudh. Balwant Singh of Benares aided the British and following the battle of Buxar in 1764 the Company acquired the whole of Benares and its near-by lands. The Company's possession did not last long, for after further hostilities the city was restored in 1765 to the Nawab of Oudh, but on condition that Balwant Singh remained in power. On his death, Raja Chet Singh, an illegitimate son, succeeded, but it was not until 1772 that he was finally recognized. Such alternations of power can hardly have favoured the arts and in spite of the political connexion with Oudh, no artists from either Faizabad or Lucknow chose Benares as a centre.

Important new developments, however, were imminent. In 1775 Benares was ceded to the Company on a permanent basis. The Raja continued in general administrative charge, but a British Resident supervised and controlled him. Chet Singh retained this position until 1781, but was then superseded by his nephew, Mahip Narain Singh (1781–95). The latter was supervised by the Company for fourteen years when he was succeeded by Raja Udit Narain Singh (1795–1835). By then, Benares had completely eclipsed Murshidabad and Patna as 'the commercial metropolis' and 'certainly the richest, as well as probably the most populous [town] in India'.[1]

> It is a very industrious and wealthy as well as a very holy city [wrote Bishop Heber]. It is the great mart where the shawls of the north, the diamonds of the south, and the muslins of Dacca and the eastern provinces, centre, and it has very considerable silk, cotton, and fine woollen manufactories of its own; while English hardware, swords, shields, and spears from Lucknow and Monghyr, and those European luxuries and elegancies which are daily becoming more popular in India, circulate from hence through Bundlecund, Gorruckpoor, Nepaul, and other tracts which are removed from the main artery of the Ganges.[2]

Benares was also famed for its repoussé brass-work, embroidery, jewellery, lac work, and above all for its weaving; kincob brocades, gold and silver tissues,

[1] Heber, *Narrative*, i. 322, 329.

[2] Ibid. i. 289.

satins, silk gauzes, and the numerous fabrics known by their patterns, *gulbadan* and *charkana*. Indeed, it was no exaggeration for Macaulay to write, 'From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned the balls of St. James's and of the Petit Trianon; and in the bazars, the muslins of Bengal and the sabres of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shawls of Cashmere.'

This commercial reputation was a powerful magnet to the British and as military operations took the Company farther north, a flourishing community grew up in Benares itself. The Resident, first appointed in 1775, fully exploited his opportunities and in one year his income exceeded his pay by £40,000. A civil station was built at Sikraul, a suburb of Benares, and in 1781 a military cantonment was created and a city magistrate appointed. Under Raja Mahip Narain Singh, much of the administration was handed over to the British, and in 1795 two courts of justice were established under British judges. Planters had meanwhile appeared and their gleaming classical mansions surrounded by acres of indigo fields were already a permanent feature of the countryside.

But Benares had a glamour that was not due to commerce. As more and more travellers passed its long line of *ghats*, the beauty of the scene captured their imaginations.

> In ascending the Ganges [wrote Emma Roberts] the first indication given to the anxious stranger of his approach to the holy city, is afforded by those lofty minarets which tower above the dense mass of buildings, spread in picturesque confusion, along the curved margin of the river, to the distance of nearly five miles. Cold indeed must be the heart which does not glow, as the gorgeous panorama discloses itself—and temple, and tower, long pillared arcade, broad ghaut, and balustraded terrace, come forth in full relief, interspersed with the rich dark-green foliage of the peepul, the tamarind, and the banian; and, garlanded at intervals with lustrous flowers, peeping through the interstices of highly-sculptured buildings, bright tenants of some blooming garden sequestered amid their spacious courts.[1]

Captain Mundy was equally enthusiastic as he moved slowly past the city on a February morning in 1829.

> I ordered my chair . . . and my telescope upon deck, and during the hour which was occupied in sailing past this Indian Babylon, I found ample amusement and interest

[1] Roberts, *Hindostan*, ii. 54–55.

in the busy scene which the Ganges' bank daily presents at this hour. Great masses of building crowd, one below another, down to the water's edge: splendid modern palaces, gaunt and deserted ruins, Hindoo temples, Mahometan mosques, spacious ghats alive with moving myriads of bathers; fat Brahmins, lean fakirs, hobbling and squabbling beldames, plump and taper damsels, all seemed to pass in review before me; and I was scarcely tired of laughing and admiring, sketching and spying, ere I found myself at the Raj Ghaut, where I gave orders to shorten sail and drop anchor.[1]

Even more representative were the reactions of Fanny Parks. As she viewed the city in 1836, she was delighted by each succeeding ghat—'great picturesque beauty', she wrote, being 'added to the scene by the grotesque and curious houses jutting out from the cliff'.[2] When, eight years later, she again looked at the town, she was even more excited by the dazzling array of picturesque views.

In the midst of hundreds and hundreds of temples and ghats, piled one above another on the high cliff, or rising out of the Ganges, the mind is perfectly bewildered; it turns from beauty to beauty, anxious to preserve the memory of each, and the amateur throws down the pencil in despair. Each ghat is a study; the intricate architecture, the elaborate workmanship, the elegance and lightness of form—an artist could not select a finer subject for a picture than one of these ghats. How soon Benares, or rather the glory of Benares—its picturesque beauty—will be no more.[3]

Like the casual travellers, members of the British colony at Benares were also stirred by its mixture of the beautiful and the grotesque. From 1820 to 1830 James Prinsep (1799–1840), assay-master at the local mint, not only explored the antiquarian remains but recorded picturesque vistas, observing that 'the pencil, though not entirely idle, has hitherto done little to bring the Holy City to the notice of Europe'.[4] Between 1830 and 1833 he published a number of plates entitled *Benares Illustrated in a Series of Drawings*[5] and in the preface the unique role of the Ganges was once again stressed.

This splendid stream [Prinsep wrote] forms a bay, indenting the front of the town, so as to display its picturesque beauties to great advantage. Indeed there are few objects more lively and exhilarating than the scene from the edge of the opposite

[1] Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, ii. 158.

[2] Parks, *Wanderings*, ii. 62.

[3] Ibid. ii. 438.

[4] Prinsep, op. cit. 5. James Prinsep was also a learned Sanskrit scholar who supported the Sanskrit College founded in 1791 by the Resident, Jonathan Duncan. In D'Oyly's lithograph of the College (*Behar Lithographic Scrapbook*) the Englishman earnestly engaged in conversation with the pundits is said to be Prinsep himself.

[5] See Note VII, p. 116.

sands, on a fine afternoon, under the clear sky of January. The music and bells of a hundred temples strike the ear with magic melody from the distance, amidst the buzz of human voices; and every now and then the flapping of the pigeons' wings is heard as they rise from their crates on the house tops, or whirl in close phalanx round the minarets, or alight with prisoners from a neighbour's flock. At the same time the eye rests on the vivid colours of the different groups of male and female bathers, with their sparkling brass water-vessels, or follows the bulls as they wander in the crowds in proud exercise of the rights of citizenship, munching the chaplets of flowers liberally presented to them. Then, as night steals on, the scene changes, and the twinkling of lamps along the water's edge, and the funeral fires and white curling smoke, and the stone buildings lit up by the moon, present features of variety and blended images of animation, which it is out of the artist's power to embody. He may give in detail the field upon which these scenes of life are enacted, but the spectator's imagination must supply the rest.[1]

The drawings which follow include straightforward sketches of architecture and festivals, the 'Ram Leela Mela' being perhaps the most variegated and colourful.

The immense crowd, the variety and brightness of the costume, the valuable ornaments and beauty of the children, contrasted with the plain white dress of the *Mehajuns*, the cheerfulness and un-moblike appearance and demeanour of the people, as they shower down flowers and chaplets upon the sacred group, with the picturesque enhancement of a clear evening sky, and the intermixture of garden foliage—complete a picture to which no description can do justice, and which will be best rendered intelligible to an English imagination under the title of a genuine *Oriental Pageant*.[2]

When the British residents of Benares were so keenly interested in the picturesque, it was natural that Indian artists should hope for a market there. The first to migrate to Benares was a certain Dallu Lal (*c.* 1790–*c.* 1860), whose parents had reached Patna from Murshidabad at about the same time as Sewak Ram. At Dinapore, the cantonment seven miles from Patna, Dallu Lal had specialized in miniature portraits for the military and it was this branch of art which he now transported in 1815 to Benares. Among his surviving pictures is a portrait on paper of an English soldier in red jacket and white trousers. This was made from the sketch of an English lady in Chunar cantonment, for it bears the inscription 'Dulloo Lal, 1841' and the note, 'Harriet Tucker delt. Chunar, August 27th,

[1] Prinsep, op. cit. 16.

[2] Ibid., note to 'Bhurut Melao', part iii.

1841.' A second picture shows a sportsman in a tree. It is signed in English, 'Dulloo Lal, 1851', and the words 'Major William Merry Stuart Sahib Bahadur' are written under it in Urdu. A third, signed in English, 'Dulloo Lal, 1853', portrays a European in a black coat, olive-green waistcoat, and creamy-white trousers, seated in a red chair.

Three years after Dallu Lal's arrival, another Patna painter, Kamalpati (*c.* 1760–1838) travelled the 130 miles up the Ganges to Benares and settled there. This artist was first appointed drawing-master at a school run by a missionary named Wheatly, but a little later he developed an independent business with sets of 'native characters', religious festivals, and Hindu deities.[1] No signed examples of his work have survived, but its general character can be inferred from a series of Benares paintings (Figs. 21 and 22) connected with this period.[2] It was evidently based on Patna models, but with certain differences. Colour is in general brighter and harder. There is a predilection for brilliant blues and scarlets. The geometrical disposition of the figures is more pronounced, the gestures stiffer, and the drawing less graceful—the whole effect heavier and coarser than in the majority of Patna paintings. Indeed, in some respects the early Benares style of Kamalpati is close to the style of Shiva Dayal Lal, the Patna artist who worked some thirty years later.

But paintings on paper were only a part of Kamalpati's productions for following the example of Patna, he also produced drawings on mica. His skill may well have been exceptional for on 6 July 1831 Fanny Parks noted of mica paintings: 'The costumes of native servants, Nach women and their attendants, the procession of Muharram, the trades, etc., are painted upon it by native artists, and sold in sets; the best are executed at Benares.'[3] Shortly after 1820 a certain Shiva Ram was also engaged in painting 'native characters' as much on mica as on paper, and about 1830 Kamalpati was joined by his brother, Phulchand, who came from Jaipur to assist him. All the essentials for a flourishing family business were now present and although Kamalpati himself died in 1838, his three sons, Chuni Lal (*c.* 1820–1908), Muni Lal (*c.* 1826–1901), and Bihari Lal (1835–1914), were each

[1] The vogue for 'Hindu deities' is illustrated by a note in Fanny Parks's diary (i. 164; 16 Oct. 1830). 'At Benares I purchased thirty-two paintings of the Hindoo deities for one rupee! and amongst them was a sketch of the goddess Kalee.'

[2] See Note VIII, pp. 116–17.

[3] Parks, op. cit. i. 219. See also Note IX, p. 117.

engaged in carrying on the trade. In addition, two sons of Kamalpati's maternal aunt, Ganesh Prasad (1815–80) and Mahesh Prasad (1825–1900), joined the organization, and two sons of Phulchand, Misri Lal (1850–1910) and Muni Lal II, were recruited to it later. Another artist named Mulchand was also practising in the bazaar.[1]

Besides this exploration of the British market, other artists were painting in an Indian-British manner for the Raja of Benares. As the British gained in power, the Raja had kept his former social status by informally mixing with them and imitating their habits. Lord Valentia, who visited the Ramnagar palace in 1803, was interviewed by Raja Udit Narain Singh in the Dewan Khanah. 'The room was white; the ornaments painted with green; lustres of the same colour were ranged down the middle, and on brackets at the sides. In compartments were English prints framed and glazed. We conversed but little, our attention being diverted by the nautching. Some of the Persian airs were pretty, and I was much amused with their singing, "I care for nobody, no not I" and "Marlbrook".'[2] In 1814 the Marquess of Hastings met the same Raja, noting that he was 'prodigiously large and fat, but with a lively and good countenance'.[3] Ten years later Bishop Heber found him 'not unlike an English farmer' in appearance and 'very ready to converse about the antiquities of his city'.[4] Emma Roberts noted in 1832 that 'The rajah of Benares not only evinces his attachment to the society of the British residents in his neighbourhood, by inviting them to his own houses, but enters also into their national amusements, frequently attending the amateur performances at the theatre at Secrole.'[5] The British interest in science, archaeology, and the picturesque had already permeated the Indian upper classes and in yet another house visited by Bishop Heber the effects were only too apparent. It belonged

> to two minors, the sons of a celebrated baboo, who had made a vast fortune as Dewan to some Europeans high in office. . . . These rooms were hung with a good many English prints of the common paltry description which was fashionable twenty years ago, of Sterne and poor Maria (the boys supposed this to be a doctor feeling a lady's pulse), The Sorrows of Werter, etc., together with a daub of the present Emperor of Delhi, and several portraits in oil of a much better kind, of the father of these boys, some of his powerful native friends and employers, and of a very beautiful woman

[1] See Note X, p. 117.
[2] Valentia, *Voyages*, i. 116.
[3] Hastings, *Journals*, i. 118.
[4] Heber, op. cit. i. 300.
[5] Roberts, *Scenes*, i. 253.

of European complexion, but in an Eastern dress, of whom the boys knew nothing, or would say nothing more than that the picture was painted for their father by Lall-jee of Patna. I did not, indeed, repeat the question, because I know the reluctance with which all Eastern nations speak of their women, but it certainly had the appearance of a portrait, and as well as the old baboo's picture, would have been called a creditable painting in most gentlemen's houses in England.[1]

This adoption of British tastes reached a climax in 1835 when Ishwari Narain Singh became Raja. While still heir apparent he had patronized Dallu Lal and about 1835 he engaged him to train two other painters as court artists. These two, Gopal Chand and his younger brother Lal Chand, were nephews of the court carpenter, Thakur, who had come from Allahabad. They were duly apprenticed to Dallu Lal and from about 1837 were employed as Raja Ishwari Narain Singh's retained artists. Shiva Ram also joined Dallu Lal and later in the century his son Suraj also entered the studio. From Dallu Lal they acquired the British technique, learning not only the use of water-colour as a medium but also firm decisive shading.

All these artists were used much as if they were court photographers. They painted the Raja's friends, courtiers, and servants, and among the many studies by Lal Chand and Gopal Chand preserved in the Kala Bhawan, Benares, are portraits of the two well-known Hindi poets, Bharatendu Harish Chandra and Raja Shiva Prasad, a portrait of the poet Deoswami, dated 1848, and portraits of the court musicians Mangal Karan Gawauja and Daulat Gawauja. Besides these there are studies of friends and courtiers—'The Babu of Tamkui' painted in 1866, 'Babu Dumraon Sri Rameshwar Bakas Singh of Chitaipur', 'Babu Radhe Singh' (on paper with an 1840 watermark), and a group of four gentlemen, one of whom is labelled Umrao Singh. A marked tribute to British taste is a series of botanical studies, executed mainly by Shiva Ram, also preserved in the Kala Bhawan.[2] None of these studies are notable as works of art, but all display a certain skill in handling the British water-colour medium and all reflect their patron's interest in British fashion.

Meanwhile the public for mica paintings rapidly expanded. Trades (Fig. 28) and 'native characters' were still painted. Festival scenes were extended to include the many Muharram figures—the carriers of water-skins, drums, sword-sticks,

[1] Heber, op. cit. i. 285–6.

[2] See Note XI, pp. 117–18.

yaks' tails, banners, shields, and mica lanterns (Fig. 27). Sets of servants were enlarged to include even the humblest dog-boy. The jugglers and mendicants with which Benares abounded were also illustrated and transport sets were made depicting conveyances of every kind.[1] Another popular set illustrated the postures of nautch dancers with their musicians, and a series in the Victoria and Albert Museum even portrays schools and children's games.[2] A novel development was the production of dresses and headgear painted on mica which could be superimposed on a single painted card. An isolated head against a background of blue sky, the Ganges, or a striped rug was painted on this card. A series of dresses and turbans were then painted on mica, and when one of the transparent sheets was laid over the card, the head and background showed through and the dress was displayed.[3]

This concentration on mica was so successful that when in 1885 the *Journal of Indian Art* published a survey of the arts, it was Benares alone which was credited with these paintings. By this time each set consisted of twelve pictures and the price ranged from 3 to 7 rupees according to the degree of care and finish. Such mass production was obviously far in excess of local requirements and many Benares sets found a market with up-country visitors and casual tourists, some reaching Calcutta and even London. The style quickly reflects this growing commercialization and although examples of the period 1820 to 1840 may possibly have justified Fanny Parks's commendation, the later figures are usually characterized by hard black lines or crude colours without the soft stippled shadows of Patna pictures. The faces are heavy, with the hair, eyes, and outlines painted in black. The women have hooked noses and a crimped lock of hair by the ear; the men have large heavy moustaches. The drawing is often weak and formless and the figures rarely appear against a landscape, but are isolated on a plain bare ground. Occasionally a curtain, a thatched roof, a bunchy tree or branch cuts across the top corner, a crude simplification of the Patna idiom. The style, in short, is that of Patna but coarsened and vulgarized with a greater brusqueness of drawing and a love of garish hues to which even the Patna workshop of Shiva Dayal Lal never quite succumbed.

[1] See Note XII, p. 118.

[2] I.S. 4674.

[3] An example (I.M. 80—1938) in a neat brocade box was presented by H.M. Queen Mary to the Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section) in 1938.

After 1885 mica painting in Benares rapidly declined, though at the time of the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888 it was still sufficiently alive to furnish random examples. With the growth of roads and railways, the river traffic almost ceased. The Grand Chord Line from Calcutta ran far south of Benares, and passengers on the Bengal Nagpur Railway, although they might purchase a trifle at the station of Benares Cantonment, did not leave the train but travelled on through the night. In 1890 Chunar ceased to be a cantonment and soon Benares, like many other British stations, held only a handful of officials. By then Indian-British art had served its day, mica paintings were outmoded, and the painters now sought their living as photographers.

6

LUCKNOW

WHILE the Company was consolidating its rule in eastern India, events in Oudh were bringing Europeans first to Faizabad and then to Lucknow. Under Shuja-ud-daula (1753–75) Oudh had become a highly powerful State virtually independent of its nominal ruler, the Emperor of Delhi, and military adventurers, especially the French who had lost their employment after defeat by the British, were attracted to the Nawab's service. But more important for the foreigner was the opulence of the court and the scope which it offered for commercial intrigues.

> As the Nawab Wazir was bent upon the prosperity and growth of the city [wrote the Muhammadan historian Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh] it seemed as if Fyzabad should soon rival Delhi. As there was no potentate in any country living in such splendid style as he, and as people here saw wealth, rank, and lavish diffusion of money in every street and market, artisans and scholars flocked hither from Dhaka, Bengal, Gujrat, Malwah, Haidarabad, Shahjahanabad, Lahour, Peshawar, Kabul, Kahsmir, and Multan. Had the Nawab Wazir but lived for ten or twelve years more, there would have grown up another Shahjahanabad or Delhi.[1]

Under Asaf-ud-daula (1775–97) this 'lavish diffusion of money' reached a climax. This Nawab seems to have excited the contempt of all who met him. 'His intellect', says Captain Williamson, 'was as heavy as his enormous head.'[2] Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh, the historian, relates how 'from his boyhood he was addicted to frivolities and his natural inclinations and attachments were for low, ill-born, and base-minded associates. He used to laugh unreasonably, fling derisive abuse at others and desire derisive abuse in return from them. He delighted in meaningless amusements and was immensely pleased with anyone who indulged in filthy language; and the more obscene the conversation was in any company, the more he was pleased'.[3] Cornwallis wrote that he 'extorts

[1] M. Faiz-Bakhsh, *Tarikh-i-Farahbakhsh* (Allahabad, 1889), 9.
[2] T. Williamson, *The European in India* (London, 1813), note to Pl. XX.
[3] Faiz-Bakhsh, op. cit. 16.

every rupee he can from his ministers to squander in debaucheries, cock fighting, elephants, and horses; he is said to have a thousand of the latter in his stables, although he never uses them'.[1] Under this ruler Faizabad was abandoned in 1775 and a new capital was made at Lucknow. The change resulted in much architectural expansion, but even this struck various observers as only another instance of Asaf-ud-daula's weakness. 'The expenditure of the Wazir in buildings alone', wrote Abu Talib, another historian, 'is ten lakhs per annum, and has continued regularly from the beginning of his rule up to the present day. Each new building that is completed is occupied for two or three days and is left empty ever afterwards. A lamp even is not lighted in it by night, nor is it swept by day. And the wrongs which God's people suffer by this building mania are many.'[2] Asaf-ud-daula's crazy folly was the more serious since none of the buildings were made of stone and without yearly colour-washing and plastering they soon decayed. As the Marquess of Hastings put it when discussing a later Nawab, such building 'was just one of those expedients to which a person of unextended views is obliged to resort in order to get rid of super-abundant wealth'.[3]

With the Nawab's mind so constituted, exploitation was easy and as Lucknow established itself as capital, Europeans of every trade flocked to the court and city. A Resident had been appointed by the Company in 1773 and around him grew up a colony of surgeons, traders, planters, manufacturers, technicians, and mercenary soldiers. 'Lucknow', wrote Williamson, 'being the capital of the Nabob Vizier of Oude, at whose court all the luxuries of the east abound and where most of the rich natives have either a residence or an agent, that city naturally becomes the resort of such persons as are celebrated in their several callings, or who possess a liberal spirit of adventure.'[4] 'Adventure' was hardly the word; a clearer picture is afforded by a comment of Warren Hastings. 'Lucknow', he wrote in 1781, is 'a sink of iniquity', 'a school of rapacity'. 'What will you say of beardless boys rejecting with indignation the offer of monthly gratuities of 3,000 and 5,000 rupees? What will you think of clerks in office clamouring for principalities, threatening those who hesitated to gratify their wants with the ven-

[1] Quoted C. C. Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh* (Oxford, 1939), 246.

[2] A. Talib, Tafzih-u-'l-Ghafilin (Allahabad, 1885), 70. Fifty-two villages were absorbed by the Nawab in order to provide the sites.

[3] Hasings, *Journals*, ii. 288.

[4] Williamson, op. cit., note to Pl. XV.

geance of patronage, and in the confidence of exhaustless resources gambling away two lakhs of rupees at a sitting, and grumbling that their merits were not attended to? What will you think of men receiving the wages of service from the nawab, and disclaiming his right to command it; and what of a city filled with as many independent and absolute sovereignties as there are Englishmen in it.'[1] Yet although Englishmen of integrity bitterly deplored the scene, it was not until 1856 that the scandal was ended. Under Nawab Saadat Ali (1798–1814) Wellesley could still write: 'The number of Europeans, particularly of British subjects, established in Oudh is a mischief which requires no comment.'[2] The next four rulers—Ghazi-ud-din Haidar (1814–27), Nasir-ud-din (1827–37), Muhammad Ali Shah (1837–42), and Amjad Ali Shah (1842–47)—were all too dissolute to take effective action, and the last of the kings of Oudh, Wajid Ali Khan (1847–56), was fully occupied with 360 concubines and his menageries of animals.[3]

During the years 1770 to 1830 we can see the gradual imposition of British standards. It is true that under both Nawabs (Shuja-ud-daula and Asaf-ud-daula) local artists, painting in the traditional style, had been patronized and among the Europeans a few exceptional individuals were keenly interested in their work. Richard Johnson (Assistant Resident, 1780–4), Gore Ouseley (A.D.C. to the Nawab, 1793–1805), and Colonel John Baillie (Resident, 1807–13) all made important collections of Mughal, Deccani, Rajasthani, and Lucknow paintings. Colonel Gentil, a French military adventurer who lived at Faizabad from 1763 to 1775 and became French Resident there, could describe himself as 'uniquement occupé de la Politique, du Gouvernement et de la Littérature'.[4] While in Faizabad he wrote his *Abrégé historique des Souverains de l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol* (1772–75), *Divinités des Indoustan* (1774), *Histoire des pièces de monnoyes qui ont été frappées dans l'Indoustan* (1773), and *Histoire des radjahs de l'Indoustan depuis Barh jusqu'à Petaurah* (1774). He also collected objects of natural history, arms

[1] Letter to Sir J. Macpherson, 12 Dec. 1781; quoted Davies, op. cit. 155.

[2] Quoted W. H. Hutton, *The Marquess Wellesley* (Oxford, 1893), 67.

[3] The Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava who visited his bungalow after his death writes (*Our Viceregal Life in India* (London, 1889), ii. 240): 'His ladies were nearly as numerous as his animals and they are now being despatched to their homes as quickly as possible. They go at the rate of seven or eight a day.'

[4] J. B. J. Gentil, 'Abrégé historqiue des Souverains de l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol', Preface.

and medals, manuscripts and paintings.[1] Colonel Polier who worked for Shuja-ud-daula from 1774 to 1775 was a French Swiss of the same type; when obliged to leave the Nawab's service through British pressure, he was allowed by Hastings to remain in Lucknow in order to continue his researches into Indian literature, to collect manuscripts and paintings, and to write historical memoirs.[2] Claude Martin, who acted as military counsellor and political adviser to the Nawab and lived in lavish splendour with four concubines and a host of eunuchs and slaves, possessed a collection of pictures and a fine library of 4,000 volumes in languages including Persian and Sanskrit.[3] All these men, however, were in some degree exceptional and, in spite of court expenditure on local artists, poets, dancers, and musicians, it was British conceptions of art which were destined to prevail.

A first symptom of the change is the success of Tilly Kettle. This painter, the first professional British artist to seek a fortune in India, visited Faizabad in 1771–3, the closing years of Shuja-ud-daula's reign. Apparently the Nawab himself had invited him, for John Cartier, Governor of Fort William, wrote to the Nawab in 1771, saying, 'Having learned that the addressee very much wishes to see Mr. Kettle, painter, the writer has ordered him to proceed to Fyzabad and thence to Allahabad after he has taken leave of the Nawab Wazir; says that he is master of his art and hopes the addressee will be much pleased with him.' Kettle was immediately accepted by the Nawab and during his stay he executed six large oil paintings.[4] One of these, a full-length study of the Nawab in a cloth of gold dress and fur cap, his right hand on his belt, is in Government House, Madras.[5] A second depicted Shuja-ud-daula and four of his sons receiving an English general, Sir Robert Barker, with his suite of two A.D.C.s, an officer, and a Persian interpreter. The remaining four pictures are described by Gentil in his memoirs. One was a picture of Shuja receiving an English general at Faizabad,

[1] See Note XIII, p. 118.

[2] See Note XIV, p. 118.

[3] Daniel Johnson in his *Sketches of Field Sports as followed by the Natives of India* (London, 1822), 188, says of Martin, 'His own picture painted by natives, by Zophani, Renaldi, and others, might be seen in different dresses every few paces.' At a sale of his effects, 47 works by Zoffany were included.

[4] See Note XV, pp. 118–19.

[5] See H. D. Love, *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras* (Madras, 1903), 188. See also *Bengal Past and Present*, xxxvii, Jan.–June 1929, Editor's Notebook, 161. Hastings had paid Tilly Kettle 1,000 guineas for a portrait and it was sold at Christie's for 7 guineas. It is possible that this portrait was the one which has now found its way to Madras.

his elephant and suite in the distance. Another showed the Nawab in Maratha costume on horseback with a lance in his hand. Nothing more is known of these pictures and both seem to have disappeared. The remaining pair had curious histories. Before leaving for France, Gentil tells us, he had borrowed all four pictures from the Nawab in order that Indian artists might make miniature copies which he could take back to Europe. When the first copy was ready—a portrait of the Nawab and his eldest son—he showed it to Shuja, who liked it so much that he insisted on keeping it and on the following day presented it to the Resident. When Gentil protested, Shuja asked him why he needed the picture since his portrait must surely be engraved upon his heart. Gentil replied that he required it for showing to his friends, and since the Nawab had given away his copy, he must be allowed to keep the original. Shuja seems to have acquiesced, for Kettle's original painting was brought by Gentil to Europe and presented to Louis XVI in 1778.[1] It is still in the Palace at Versailles. It shows Shuja in a gold-sprigged dark green coat and brown fur stole over a long white robe with a bluish-green border. He wears a flat brown turban encircled with an embroidered bandeau tied round with gold thread. His left hand rests on a dagger at his waist and his right hand grasps his sword. The soft drooping moustache and slightly squinting eyes lend the figure an air of gentle sadness. Shuja's plump son stands beside him in a white and silver tissue coat with a brownish-yellow sash and a slate-blue turban. Both figures stand on a rich carpet against a pale blue sky smudged with faint smoky-grey clouds. Only one other of the remaining three pictures was copied for Gentil and this was also presented by him to the King of France in 1778. It was almost certainly made for him by a local artist named Nevasi Lal and shows the Nawab and his ten sons standing on a rich carpet in the Palace.[2]

So popular were these portraits that Indian artists continually made free copies of them, the Nawab as portrayed by Kettle becoming a stock figure in many sets of pictures. Mir Chand, a well-known artist of this time who had worked for Polier, copied the main figure from Kettle's picture of the Nawab with Sir Robert Barker, and used it in fresh compositions. He made at least three different

[1] J. J. Gentil, *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol* (Paris, 1822), 310.

[2] The picture at Versailles is numbered M.V. 3888. For a discussion of the copy by Nevasi Lal and the reasons for connecting it with Gentil see Note XV, pp. 118–19.

pictures from it by portraying the Nawab holding a bow (Fig. 29), changing the position of his hands, and varying the background. On another occasion he used only the head and shoulders of this figure, and he also copied the picture of the Nawab and his ten sons.[1]

It was under Asaf-ud-daula, however, that the blatant imitation of British culture was accelerated. In 1784 John Zoffany arrived in Lucknow and during his stay of five years made several paintings and drawings for the Nawab, some of which have found their way to the India Office and H.M. the Queen's collection. A small portrait was given to Sir John Shore in 1797 and is now with Lord Teignmouth, while the famous painting of 'Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Fight' was also made for the Nawab.[2] Ozias Humphry, who visited Lucknow in 1786, executed five miniatures; one of the Nawab himself, one of his son, another of the Shahzada (the son of the Mughal Emperor), and two of the Nawab's ministers. He received several lucrative commissions, but he left Lucknow enraged and disappointed, since of the Rs 47,000 he had exorbitantly asked from the Nawab, he received only Rs 5,000 in cash, with the promise that he would receive the rest from the revenues of the following year with 12 per cent. interest.

Such patronage, however, was only part of a more general capitulation to British standards. L. F. Smith, who visited the court in about the year 1795, states that Asaf-ud-daula is 'fond of lavishing his treasures on gardens, palaces, horses, elephants, and, above all, on fine European guns, lustres, mirrors and all sorts of European manufactures, more especially English; from a two-penny deal board painting of ducks and drakes, to the elegant paintings of a Lorraine or a Zophani; and from a little dirty paper lantern, to mirrors and lustres which cost 2 or £3000 each'.[3] Writing in 1803, Lord Valentia noticed the same indiscriminate collection of 'whimsical curiosities purchased by the late Vizier Asôf-ud-Dowlah, consisting of several thousand English prints framed and

[1] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.S. 287—1951; British Museum, 1946–10–10–03. See *Rupam*, i, No. 17, Jan. 1924, 58, 59; also E. Kühnel, *Berliner Museen*, xliii, Nov. and Dec. 1922, 115–22.

[2] See V. Manners and G. C. Williamson, *John Zoffany, his Life and Works, 1735–1810* (London, 1920), for a discussion of the various versions of this picture. The Ashwick version, which is probably the original painted for the Nawab, is still with the Strachey family.

[3] L. F. Smith, *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1804*, Miscellaneous Tracts, 10–12 (London, 1806).

glazed, Chinese drawings and ornaments, mirrors of all shapes and sizes, lustres, and innumerable other articles of European manufacture'.[1]

Under Saadat Ali (1798–1814) this tendency was even more pronounced. Having been brought up as a youth in Calcutta amongst British officers, Saadat Ali made strenuous efforts to adopt British manners. Mrs. Deane describes how when she was in Lucknow in 1805, 'a quantity of Worcestershire china arrived, that had been sent to the *Nawaab* from England. He was as impatient to open it, as a child would be with a new plaything; and immediately gave orders for invitations to be sent to the whole settlement for a breakfast, *à la fourchette*, next morning. Tables were accordingly spread for upwards of a hundred persons, including his ministers and officers of state. Nothing could be more splendid than the general appearance of this entertainment.' But the dismay of the visitors, she goes on, could be more easily imagined than described when it was found that the milk which had been arranged specially for the Europeans, was served in a series of twenty chamber-pots along the centre of the table.[2] Lord Valentia, who visited him in 1803 had also been amazed at his taste for English things. 'An English apartment, a band in English regimentals playing English tunes, a room lighted by magnificent English girandoles, English tables, chairs and looking glasses; an English service of plate, English knives and forks, spoons, wineglasses, decanters and cut glass vases—now could these convey any idea that we were seated in the Court of an Asiatic Prince?'[3]

Under Ghazi-ud-din Haidar (1814–27) respect for British manners continued and Sir Edward Paget, who visited the court in 1823 notes how

> The King of Oudh is about 55 years of age, handsome and of the most benign countenance, though I am told he sometimes gets into a rage and beats his minister with a slipper. . . . The King is said to be an extremely good and kindhearted man, but like myself preferring anything and everything to his business. Accordingly, instead of attending to the affairs of State, he spends his time in boat-building and house-building, in turning, in printing, in collecting European and especially English commodities of all sorts, descriptions and kinds, and, in short, idling.[4]

During his rule, a favourite retainer was a British artist, Robert Home, who besides painting pictures, designed and superintended the making of State

[1] Valentia, *Voyages*, i. 155. [2] Deane, *Tour*, 107. [3] Valentia, op. cit. i. 144.
[4] E.-Paget, 'Letters of Sir Edward Paget', *Bengal Past and Present*, xxiv, Jan.–Dec. 1922, 100.

carriages, boats, and howdahs, and supervised the setting of the State jewels. Heber met him in 1824 and wrote,

I sate for my portrait to Mr Home four times. He has made several portraits of the King, redolent of youth, and radiant with diamonds, and a portrait of Sir E. Paget, which he could not help making a resemblance. He is a very good artist indeed, for a King of Oude to have got hold of. He is a quiet gentlemanly old man, brother of the celebrated surgeon in London, and came out to practise as a portrait painter at Madras, during Lord Cornwallis's first administration, was invited from thence to Lucknow by Saadut Ali a little before his death, and has since been retained by the King at a fixed salary, to which he adds a little by private practice. His son is a Captain in the Company's service, but is now attached to the King of Oude as equerry, and European aide-de-camp. Mr Home would have been a distinguished painter had he remained in Europe, for he has a great deal of taste, and his drawing is very good and rapid; but it has been, of course, a great disadvantage to him to have only his own works to study, and he, probably, finds it necessary to paint in glowing colours to satisfy his royal master.[1]

Three other English artists worked for a time at Lucknow—George Place, Thomas Longcroft, and Charles Smith.

Home retired in 1828, but so great was the Nawab's zest for British art that another British painter was quickly recruited to his service. 'The place of Mr Home', wrote Emma Roberts, 'is supplied, at the court of Lucknow, by Mr George Beechey, who had distinguished himself by several masterly efforts of the pencil before he left England, and whose portrait of a native female, sent over and exhibited two years ago at Somerset House, attracted the attention of the best judges of the art.'[2] This was probably a portrait of Beechey's Indian wife, Hinda, who also appears in a picture of himself in the dress of a Nawab with his wife and small son, which is now with the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[3] Beechey continued to paint at Lucknow until his death in 1855, though Wajid Ali Khan, the last of the kings of Oudh, took little interest. In fact we can infer the generally demoralized tone of the court from Lady Dufferin, who visited the ex-King's house in Calcutta after his death. 'The bungalows', she wrote, 'all had marble floors, and in every room there was a bed with silver feet, and no other furniture

[1] Heber, *Narrative*, i. 394–5.

[2] Roberts, *Scenes*, ii. 144.

[3] See J. J. Cotton, 'George Beechey and his Indian Wife', *Bengal Past and Present*, xxiv, Jan.–Dec. 1922, 49–52. See also Note XVI, p. 119.

whatever. The walls, however, were covered with pictures—questionable French prints and Scripture subjects mixed indiscriminately. We saw some books of prints which he had coloured himself; they were really very well done.'[1]

With British standards so clearly uppermost, it was impossible for local artists to be unaffected and although no important types of Indian-British painting were produced at Lucknow, we can trace three distinct developments from the year 1750 to the ending of the style about 1840.

The first of these was under Gentil (1763–75), when local artists seem to have been employed for illustrating his history of the Mughal empire and his book on Hindu deities. Since these volumes were published in 1772 and 1774, the originals must almost certainly have been executed in about the years 1765–70. It would appear from an inscribed miniature in the Musée Guimet that an artist, Nevasi Lal, worked for Gentil, but apart from this inscription and Gentil's own remark that he employed three artists for ten years at Faizabad, there is no means of knowing who these illustrators were or what had been their previous training. It is likely, however, that they were all Hindus, for in the original manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the pencil notes giving instructions to the artist are all in *devanagari* script. There is certainly a marked difference in style between these pale and delicate water-colours and the flamboyant, brilliantly hued Mughal art which was then flourishing at the court. Indeed it is clear that not only did Gentil dictate the exact subject-matter of the illustrations—portraits, small scenes of royal life, and trophies of arms for tail-pieces—but he also prescribed the technique and style to be adopted.

The second phase characterizes the years 1775 to 1800 and corresponds to the reign of Asaf-ud-daula. The local style of provincial Mughal painting was still flourishing and although it was already developing a greater harshness, there was the same violent recourse to mauves and purples, flaring reds, dark heavy greens, and brilliant yellows. It is as if a hot exotic quality—a touch of fevered brilliance—had infected the style on its arrival from Delhi earlier in the century and so exactly had this quality matched the corrupt luxuriance of the court that it had persisted throughout the century as a characteristic mark of Lucknow painting.[2]

[1] Dufferin, op. cit. ii. 240.

[2] See the Ouseley Collection in the Bodleian Library and three albums at Windsor dated 1777.

Yet side by side with pictures in this local style, sets of 'native rulers' and 'native characters' seem also to have been produced, in a pale insipid style of water-colour. One such set consisting of thirty portraits and probably dating from about 1796[1] is now in the India Office Library. It evidently consists of former rulers, for Asaf-ud-daula, who was still alive, is not included, and Chet Singh who was deposed in 1781 appears with the caption 'the late Nabob of Benares'. Other portraits include Shuja-ud-daula (Fig. 30) and his father, as well as various emperors of Delhi. Officers of the Nawab appear, such as 'Raja Nevel Roy, Sujah Dowlah's Paymaster', and so do the late rulers and nobles of Bengal, Arrah, Purnea, Patna, Birbhum, and Benares.

All these pictures reflect the European manner already apparent in Gentil's illustrations and are similarly executed in water-colour. They show the ruler seated amongst cushions beside a low marble balustrade ornamented by a low clipped hedge or pots of flowers. The sky is a pale wash of blue, and there is much white in the pictures, broken by crimson cushions, touches of green, gold, and purple. Many of the faces are simply types which appear again and again. The most common is a cross-eyed figure with drooping moustache, representing Shuja-ud-daula, and so reminiscent of Tilly Kettle's famous studies that it is obviously based on his pictures. We must conclude therefore that with the expansion of the British colony at Lucknow and the gradual diffusion of British standards, numerous local artists were now developing an Indian-British style designed to humour the strangers.

A set of 'native characters', probably painted at about the same time, is bound up with the 'native rulers' discussed above and is painted in a similar style. It is characterized by pale pinkish-brown figures placed against a pale blue sky and a small remote landscape. Neat bosky trees parade against the blue hills and long dark shadows, at right angles to the legs of the figures, spread across the arid yellow soil. A narrow black border usually surrounds the scene. The colour scheme is as anaemic as in the 'ruler' sets and the faces have the same disgruntled look, the same cross-eyes and limp moustaches.

Other closely similar examples are pictures of animals and birds poised against a pale blue sky and sandy fawn ground, and by occasional sets of Hindu deities. The latter are illustrated by a two volume set of sixty-four pictures which

[1] I.O.L. ALR 2D.

figured in Beckford's sale of 1815.[1] It possesses the same insipid colouring, the same kind of backgrounds, and the same style of shadows as appear in the sets of 'native characters' and 'native rulers' at the India Office Library, and is thus almost certainly of about the same date.

A final phase which may have lasted from 1800 to 1830 is illustrated by three significant collections. The first is a volume from the Wellesley Collection at the India Office Library,[2] entitled *Drawings Illustrating the Manners and Customs of the Natives of India*. These consist of several different sets bound up together. The manner of grouping, the facial idioms, the costume (especially the distinctive Lucknow turban) connect at least three of these with the Lucknow branch of Indian-British painting and if they were actually made 'by order of the Marquess of Wellesley' as their owner claimed in 1866, they must belong to the opening years of the nineteenth century. They may even have been commissioned by Wellesley on his visit to Oudh in 1802. It is significant, however, that each of these sets is in a perceptibly different style and if, as seems clear, all of them are from Lucknow, it would appear that several families were now producing sets of 'native characters', each in its own distinctive manner.

The largest of the sets portrays the well-known figures of the tailor, the comb-maker, grain-seller, sweetmeat-maker, cloth-seller (Fig. 31), book-binder, pedlar, firework-maker, silver-smith, and bangle-maker, and is marked by the familiar Lucknow face with its disgruntled, cross-eyed glance. But the colours are less insipid and range more widely, with deft combinations of rich orange and red, lime and peacock-green, warm browns and yellows. The shading and soft washes of colour all show a strong British influence. Included in this set is an elaborate picture of a Hindu wedding (Fig. 18) which is wrongly inscribed 'A Saint receiving offerings'.

Another set which has pale 'Lucknow' colours and strong shadows is executed in a strange sketchy broken line which gives some of the figures an oddly 'modern' look. A third set is characterized by hard knife-edged drapery and outlines, by gnarled trees and sudden shadows—the whole suggesting yet another hand.

A second collection of Lucknow 'native characters' is in the library of H.M.

[1] B.M. Or.4769 and Or.57 b. These pictures may well have come to Beckford from Polier's collection.

[2] I.O.L. Case 10, 18.

the Queen at Windsor.[1] This album, presented to George IV when Prince of Wales, consists of forty water-colour paintings of eastern Mediterranean figures, twelve Patna paintings, and sixteen Lucknow ones. Some of the pictures are mounted on paper with an 1812 watermark and therefore belong to the early years of the nineteenth century. This set portrays religious figures—fakirs and yoginis—as well as some jugglers and entertainers. The pale blue sky, the wispy trees, and sharp shading of other Lucknow paintings are present in this set which nevertheless has a style different again from those in the Wellesley album.

A series in closely similar style is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[2] This also is in a bound volume entitled *Oriental Drawings* and besides containing fifty Lucknow pictures, also has two Patna paintings. The characters are shown in glowing greens and yellows, pinks and mauves against appropriate background (Fig. 32 and frontispiece).

Yet a third style is represented by a volume also in H.M. the Queen's collection at Windsor entitled *Customs of the Court of Oudh*. Written in Persian in 1826, it retails and illustrates the daily happenings in the life of King Ghazi-ud-din-Haidar (1814–27). Sir John Lawrence, who presented it to Queen Victoria, notes in a covering letter,

> This book is curious and interesting from two circumstances. It was prepared in the Palace of Lucknow under the direction of the King of Oude, and is of course a faithful illustration of the life and dress of the highest Mahomedan families in India. Secondly, it was taken by some Seikhs of one of the Punjabee Regts at the time the Palace of Lucknow was stormed—they gave it to their commanding officer, who was good enough to present it to me, as the Corps was raised under my orders.

The paintings reveal the tawdry Europeanized palace to which the journals and memoirs constantly refer. We see the garish stucco building with its shoddy painted woodwork and frescoes, its carpets, furniture, and wall-lamps in the worst British taste. The rooms are decorated with Indian portraits and British sporting prints, and the ruler of Oudh, now a king with a golden halo, is portrayed throughout his regal routine avidly seeking with monotonous regularity the tedious company of unhappy women.

The style of painting is even more revealing, for although made for the king himself by his own artists, the illustrations are in the same style as standard

[1] Windsor, B.25.

[2] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), 93.D.11.

Indian-British sets. The original Lucknow manner which had still persisted under Asaf-ud-daula is now dead. Some of the brilliant colours persist—the mauves and purples, reds and yellows, but the technique is in a feeble and anglicized water-colour with weak and fussy outlines. The figures are awkward and lumpy beneath their sagging clothes. The shading is blurred and the mixture of transparent water-colour with chinese white is drab and muddy. Some of the women's faces appear to be by a defter hand, for amongst the female figures with their 'Patna'-like features there occasionally appears a face executed with photographic precision in sharp contrast to the ill-defined bodies. In this volume the pleasures of the zenana, its feasts, music, dancing, and embracings, formerly portrayed with voluptuous line and fevered colour, are now so feebly rendered that dignity is lost and nothing remains but a sense of all-pervading squalor.

7

DELHI

As the British went farther north, they encountered stronger traditions of Indian painting. We have seen how under Shuja and Asaf-ud-daula the court of Lucknow liberally patronized the local school of Mughal painting—an offshoot which despite the growth of British influence continued to flourish until 1800. At Delhi, Mughal painting had existed throughout the eighteenth century. The early studios had gradually dwindled and particularly in 1739, when the Persian, Nadir Shah, sacked the city, some of the artists had probably departed. Yet under the Emperors Muhammad Shah (1719–48), Ahmad Shah (1748–54), Alamgir II (1754–9), and Shah Alam (1759–1806), pictures were still produced—the styles preserving the earlier conventions though with ever-hardening colour and coarsened technique. When in 1803 the British defeated the Marathas and finally took the capital, there was still a public for Mughal painting. Versions of earlier pictures were being painted, genre subjects were popular, and between 1750 and 1800 many pictures of women bathing, braiding their hair, or standing in seductive poses were produced. Portraits of the imperial line were also in demand, while even the latest emperor, Shah Alam, was portrayed in durbar with his nobles. To the British, abruptly arriving in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, such a contemporary art could hardly be ignored. Elsewhere in India a few dispirited artists had humbly sought their patronage. Here in Delhi artists were actively maintaining an old tradition and even the British were compelled to yield them cautious approval.

A similar respect for Mughal achievements affected their attitude to Delhi itself. As the British rode round its environs, they were at first excited by its picturesque decay.

> From the top [of the Kutb Minar] [wrote Captain Mundy] the eye of the traveller embraces on all sides one sea of stupendous ruins, the Jumna gliding like a

huge serpent through the midst. The Mausoleums of Humaion and Sufter Jung appear almost the only perfect edifices among the general wreck of ancient Delhi.[1]

Equally vivid were the impressions of Emma Roberts.

From the outside the view is splendid; domes and mosques, cupolas and minarets, with the imperial palace frowning like a mountain of red granite, appear in the midst of groves of clustering trees, so thickly planted that the buildings have been compared, in Oriental imagery, to rocks of pearls and rubies, rising from an emerald sea. In approaching the city from the east bank of the Jumna, the prospect realizes all that the imagination has pictured of Oriental magnificence; mosques and minarets glittering in the sun, some garlanded with wild creepers, others arrayed in all the pomp of gold, the exterior of the cupolas being covered with brilliant metal, and from Mount Mejnoon, over which a fine road now passes, the shining waters of the Jumna gleaming in the distance, insulating Selimgurh and disappearing behind the halls of the peacock throne, the palace of the emperors, add another beautiful feature to the scene.[2]

In fact, as Fanny Parks was to write in 1838, 'you cannot turn your eye in any direction but you are surrounded by ruins of the most picturesque beauty'.[3]

What chiefly impressed the British, however, was less the picturesque properties of the landscape than 'a reverential melancholy' induced by the memories of tragic grandeur.

There is something in this place to which the mind cannot be indifferent [wrote Charles Metcalfe, while camping at Delhi in 1806]. The ruins of grandeur that extend for miles on every side fill it with serious reflection. The palaces crumbling into dust, every one of which could tell many tales of royal virtue or tyrannical crime, of desperate ambition or depraved indolence . . . the myriads of vast mausoleums, every one of which was intended to convey to futurity the deathless fame of its cold inhabitant, and all of which are passed by unknown and unnoticed . . . these things cannot be looked at with indifference.[4]

And twenty years later similar thoughts were expressed by Captain Mundy.

After passing a morning full of interest at Koutub Sahib, I rode home alone, twelve miles, over a plain studded with remains of gone-by grandeur. How many centuries of chequered prosperity and desolation have passed over this spot, so

1 Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, i. 92–93.
2 Roberts, *Scenes*, iii. 169.
3 Parks, *Wanderings*, ii. 197.
4 Quoted E. J. Thompson, *The Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe* (London, 1937), 63.

replete with historical recollections! At one moment my imagination painted the splendour and magnificence of Delhi in the glorious reigns of Baber, Acbar, and Aurungzeb; at another, the picture was reversed, and Delhi, plundered and deluged in blood by Tartar, Afgan, and Mogul invaders, racked by civil wars, and reduced to purchase peace of a Mahratta banditti recurred to my memory.[1]

Here in Delhi, where Mughal associations hung so heavily, where the architecture testified to centuries of Mughal rule and the Emperor himself was a living relic of ancient splendour, the British made somewhat different demands on painting from those that they had made elsewhere. What they first sought were pictures in the Mughal style itself—pictures which in their brilliant reporting of early Mughal scenes would recapture the old glamour. Originals of the time of Akbar and Jahangir had already become scarce, but Delhi artists were skilful in making copies and from 1800 onwards there was a steady trade in 'Akbar and Jahangir-period' miniatures—many of which until recent years were mistaken for originals. At the same time, scenes of contemporary court life continued to be recorded—the style employing the same rosy flesh-tones current in the copies.

The second demand by the British was more directly in keeping with ideas of the picturesque. As early as 1798, when the country-side was still infested with marauders, the Daniells had penetrated to the city, and had executed a whole series of architectual views, which were published in their *Oriental Scenery*. Thus for many British arriving in Delhi, the correct subjects for art were already determined. They were the Mughal monuments in or near Delhi—the Kutb Minar, the Diwan-i-Khas, the Fort and the Kashmir Gate at Delhi, Humayun's tomb, the Badshahi mosque and the Moti Masjid at Agra, the Panch Mahal at Fatepur Sikri, and, above all, the Taj Mahal. It was these buildings which the local artists were now induced to paint, producing in set after set a series of standard compositions (Fig. 23). The earliest were all on paper.[2] They were

[1] Mundy, op. cit. i. 97–98.

[2] e.g. Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section):

I.S. 9232 H-J.	1811 watermarks.
14 & 15—1896; 4202.	1816 watermarks.
D 626 to 630—1889.	1817 watermarks.

Another set depicting buildings at Agra and Delhi and containing the inscription 'presented by John Bax, 9th September, 1824' is in the India Office Library (I.O.L. Case 8.15), and the British Museum also possesses examples watermarked 1811, 1823, and 1834.

usually produced in two sizes: one, small and easily handled, measuring approximately 10×8 inches, the other, more imposing, measuring 28×22 inches, a size more nearly comparable to a Daniell print. The technique, however, was invariably the same. Water-colour was the medium and the architecture was painted with minute precision in pale brown, grey, and fawn on a white ground with touches of gold, dull green, and blue in the ornamentation. A pale cloudless blue sky reminiscent of British aquatints was sometimes added as a background. In certain cases portions only of the buildings were given—the whole picture consisting of careful details of the pierced stone screens and pietra-dura work. Throughout, perspective as understood in the West was carefully copied.[1]

A little later, in about 1830, the early austerity was replaced by a softer and more mellow treatment, and besides paper, ivory was also employed. The architecture is now reduced in scale to form part of a landscape. It stands against a sky torn with grey clouds or piled with fleecy masses. Feathery bosky trees grow around the buildings (Fig. 24), and in the foreground small figures collect beneath scarlet awnings or saunter on paths staring at elephants and palanquins.[2]

Following their success in training artists at Murshidabad and Patna, the British also encouraged the Delhi painters to execute portrait miniatures on ivory. Common productions were sets of Mughal emperors and their court beauties done on ivory in oval frames, and these were to be continued throughout the nineteenth century (Figs. 33–35). Equally popular were portraits in ivory of the British themselves. One of the earliest Delhi painters to undertake this work was Ghulam Murtaza Khan (*c.* 1760–1840). Among Europeans painted by him was a certain 'Alexander Sahib', while in 1834 Colonel Skinner of 'Skinner's Horse', sent him a letter in Urdu ordering a portrait and describing him as 'the counterpart of Mani and Bihzad'. The same artist is possibly responsible for the portrait of Skinner in the Delhi Fort Museum as well as for a delicate study in red and blue of Ochterlony.[3] But the artist who attracted most British attention was 'Raja' Jivan Ram. Sleeman, the civilian of Thuggi fame, knew him well and describes him as an 'excellent portrait painter, and a very honest and agreeable

[1] See Note XVII, p. 119.

[2] Examples in this style showing the Jantar Mantar, the tomb of Safdar Jang, the Delhi Fort, and the Diwan-i-Khas, all on ivory, are in the Delhi Fort Museum. Specimens on paper and ivory are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.M. 1 to 60—1923 and 286—1871.

[3] Nos. 40–768 and 40–711.

person'.[1] During 1832 he was attached to the suite of Lord William Bentinck when he visited the Sikhs and a family album in the possession of Mrs. Pretyman, originally obtained from one of Bentinck's staff, includes a portrait with the following inscription: 'Ramjeet Singh drawn by the Rajah Juan Ram. Ramjeet Singh sat for this position at the request of the Governor General, Lord Wm Bentinck, 1832.' Another study of Ranjit Singh also by Jivan Ram is reproduced in Prinsep's book on the Sikhs. Six years later, in 1838, Emily Eden encountered Jivan Ram at Meerut: 'I treated myself to such a beautiful miniature of W.O. There is a native here, Juan Ram, who draws beautifully sometimes, and sometimes utterly fails, but his picture of William is quite perfect. Nobody can suggest an alteration, and as a work of art it is a very pretty possession. It was so admired that F. got a sketch of G. on cardboard, which is also an excellent likeness; and it is a great pity there is no time for sitting for our pictures for you—but we never have time for any useful purpose.'[2] To obtain such praise Jivan Ram must have fully mastered the British technique. Sleeman gives an amusing account of a picture painted by him for the Emperor Akbar II (1806–37). The picture, when finished, was shown to the ladies of the seraglio. They objected, however, to the shadow under the nose. 'May it please your majesty, it is impossible to draw any person without a shadow,' protested the distressed artist, 'and I hope many millions will long continue to repose under that of your majesty.' 'True, Raja', said his majesty, 'men must have shadows; but there is surely no necessity for placing them immediately under their noses. The ladies will not allow mine to be put there; they say it looks as if I had been taking snuff all my life, and it certainly has a most filthy appearance; besides it is all awry, as I told you when you began upon it.' And the Raja was obliged to remove from under the imperial and certainly very noble nose the shadow which he had thought worth all the rest of the picture.[3]

Ghulam Murtaza Khan and Jivan Ram were not the only Delhi artists catering for the British. Emily Eden records in 1839,

I have had two Delhi miniature painters here, translating two of my sketches into ivory, and I never saw anything so perfect as their copy of Runjeet Singh. Azim, the

[1] W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official* (London, 1844), 525.

[2] Eden, *Up the Country*, 94. 'W.O.' was her nephew William Osborne, A.D.C. to Lord Auckland. 'F' was her sister Fanny, and 'G' her brother Lord Auckland, the Governor-General.

[3] Sleeman, op. cit. 525.

best painter, is almost a genius except that he knows no perspective, so he can only copy. He is quite mad about some of my sketches, and as all miniatures of well-known characters sell well, he has determined to get hold of my book. There is a foreshortened elephant with the Putteealah Rajah in the howdah, that particularly takes his fancy. However, I do not want them to be common, so I cut out of the book those that I wish to have copied, and I never saw a native so nearly in a passion as he was, because he was not allowed the whole book. Their miniatures are so soft and beautiful. F. had your likeness of my father copied.[1]

Ghulam Husain Khan (*c.* 1790–1868), son of Ghulam Murtaza Khan, was also active from about 1830 to 1860 and a series of testimonials preserved by his descendants show how wide was his clientèle. Mr. Hooper, 'Surgeon of the 13th P.G.', certified that 'Golam Hussain Khan has taken my likeness to the entire satisfaction of my friends as a portrait for a brooch. Price given, thirty rupees.' and Colonel Augustus W. Hosmer of the Bombay Horse promised in 1864 that 'the pictures are, if approved of, to be paid for at the rate of 11 pictures for one hundred rupees'. Besides working for the British, this artist also exhibited two pictures of 'The Nawab of Jhajjar hunting the boar and the leopard' in the Punjab Exhibition of 1864 and Baden Powell, who made the catalogue, writes:- 'These are animated clever works, and the grouping of the figures is good, but the colour is poor, and the drawing most indifferent.' He also exhibited some portraits of the Mughal Emperors and their wives.[2]

About the year 1870, the arrival of the camera in Delhi gave an impetus to this Indian-British art. Writing in the *Delhi Gazetteer* for 1883, Lockwood Kipling said,

The introduction of photography is gradually bringing about a change in Delhi miniatures. The artists are ready to reproduce in colour any portrait that may be given to them; and, although sometimes the hardness of definition and a certain inky quality of the shadows of some photographs are intensified, much of their work in this line is admirable. The stiffness which used to be their unfailing characteristic is disappearing, landscape, a branch of art treated in indigenous art with stern conventionality, is attempted in freer spirit, and it seems not unlikely that a new and perhaps more fresh and vital way of looking at nature may be adopted. Supposing

[1] Eden, op. cit. 263.

[2] B. H. Baden Powell, *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* (Lahore, 1872), 356. See also Note XVIII, p. 119.

this change to be desirable, a point that is not absolutely certain, the Delhi work of today is strongly marked by the faults of its qualities, the excessive delicacy and minuteness of handling well expressed by their customary phrase, ek bal qalm', a brush of a single hair, the quality of the handling being far more esteemed than sound drawing, good colour, or truth of effect. In copying photographs there is no such thing as freehand drawing, the photo's outlines are carefully traced with ink on talc, this tracing is then retraced in the reverse side of the talc with transfer ink and transferred to a thin sheet of ivory, the features, etc, are then touched up and finally shaded and coloured. If the painting is to be larger or smaller than the original photo, the latter is first enlarged or reduced by photography. As the whole work is done with water-colour any part can be washed out and redone. Still it is wonderful how truthful the paintings are to the original photos and it is still more marvellous how the artists can work sitting on their hams with the palm of the left hand for an easel and a common piece of paper for the palette, with children playing about and touching the artist's materials. The ivory used for miniatures is prepared in the city and the mounts, said to be of Aleppo glass, are also cut, rounded and polished here.[1]

Kipling might have added that the miniatures were usually oval, but also occasionally oblong with the edges rounded. The ivory was sawn up into thin plates, seasoned and pressed, so that it would not warp, and finely polished. The glass was smoothed off like a pebble and polished with corundum and oil.

Similar views had earlier been expressed by Val Prinsep, the artist who visited India in 1876–7.

Today [he writes] I have received visits from the artists of Delhi: they are three in number, and each appears to have an *atelier* of pupils. The best is one Ismael Khan. Their manual dexterity is most surprising. Of course, what they do is entirely traditional. They work from photographs, and never by any chance from nature. Ismael Khan showed me what his father had done before photography came into vogue, and really a portrait of Sir C. Napier was wonderfully like, though without an atom of *chic*, or artistic rendering. I pointed out to the old man certain faults—and glaring ones—of perspective, and he has promised to do me a view of the Golden Temple without any faults. 'These', said he, pointing to his miniatures, 'are done for the sahibs who do not understand. I know they are wrong, but what does it matter? No one cares. But I will show you that I can do better.'

[1] J. L. Kipling, Arts Section in H. C. Beadon, *Punjab District Gazetteers; Delhi District* (Lahore, 1913), 148. The Arts Section was reprinted from the 1883–4 edition.

In a footnote Prinsep adds, 'This better miniature I never received; perhaps my friend Ismael found it not so easy to do a perfect picture.'

He continues:

> It is a pity such wonderful dexterity should be thrown away. Some means of really educating these fellows might be hit upon. If only they could see better work, they would quickly improve. At present the talent seems to be hereditary, and father, son, and grandson, are necessarily painters, and all with the same mechanical capacity and admirable patience.[1]

Yet despite these criticisms, a lucrative trade in miniature portraits continued and numerous testimonials similar to those received by Ghulam Husain Khan for his portraits from life were obtained by his son, Muhammad Husain Khan (1847–1912), from 'sahibs who did not understand'.[2]

One last type of Delhi art is best described as 'bijouterie'. Tiny pictures of the kinds described above were executed on card or ivory and then mounted in ebony, sandalwood, or metal frames, to make boxes, firescreens, brooches, ear-rings, cuff-links, and studs.[3] These trinkets, which grew more elaborate and more heavily mounted as the century progressed, had a great vogue and although out-moded are even now a feature of Delhi trade.

[1] V. Prinsep, *Imperial India: an Artist's Journals* (London, 1879), 47. Prinsep had gone to India to collect material for the picture which had been commissioned from him by the Government of India for presentation to Queen Victoria on her assumption of the title of Empress of India.

[2] See Note XIX, pp. 119–20.

[3] An ivory casket enriched with miniatures, typical of this period, is illustrated in Sir George Watt's *Indian Art at Delhi* (London, 1904), Pl. 61. The Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section) possesses a set of twenty-six buttons each containing a minute painting of a butterfly on ivory mounted under a glass disk.

26
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8

SOUTHERN INDIA

(i) Madras

While British power was expanding in northern and eastern India, similar, if less important developments were occurring in the south. From the early days of the Dutch and Portuguese adventurers, the eastern seaboard rather than the western had provided the most lucrative markets for the Indian trade. It was to the Dutch settlements at Masulipatam, Pulicat, Sudras, and Negapatam that the commerce of Golconda in the Deccan found its way; Pondicherry and Karikal—also on the east coast—served as trading bases for the French; and the British had their chief harbour at Madras. None of these settlements had roots in Indian society. As British men and women on their way to Calcutta stopped for a few days at Madras, they admired the sandy beach, the distant hills, and the shining garden-houses. 'Asiatic splendour', wrote Mrs. Fay in 1780, 'combined with European taste [is] exhibited around you on every side, under the forms of flowing drapery, stately palanquins, elegant carriages, innumerable servants, and all the pomp and circumstance of luxurious ease, and unbounded wealth.'[1] 'Native' ways of life, however, were disregarded after the 1780's and in its round of European amusements, parties, and business, Madras was virtually an Indian replica of an English provincial town.

Although painting was practised from time to time in the city, it was mainly the work of British professionals. Tilly Kettle, the two Daniells, Zoffany, Smart, Chinnery, Home, Thomas Hickey, and George Willison all worked at Madras for a time and were well patronized. John Gantz and his son produced Madras equivalents of 'native character' sets which earned considerable popularity. Indian artists, however, were conspicuously lacking, and although scale drawings of forts and diagrams of guns were executed for the army by Indian draughtsmen,

[1] Fay, *Letters*, 162.

there is no sign of any painters producing scenes of Indian life for the typically British market.

It is only beyond Madras, in the wild romantic country-side, that we find in the south any exploration of the picturesque—whether by Indian artists or by British amateurs. Captain Gold, a young officer of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, was clearly imbued with the same attitudes as D'Oyly, Fanny Parks, and the Postans couple. His military career—he was present at the siege of Seringapatam—prevented him from touring widely, but within the scope afforded by marches through the country-side and monotonous halts in camps, he was sedulous in recording picturesque scenes and characters. His sketches, published in 1802, had the title *Oriental Drawings*, and his underlying attitude is well expressed in the preface.

> Not being enabled from his professional duties to go in search of the extraordinary subjects, with which India so eminently abounds, he was necessitated to take them as they occurred; and allowed none to pass his quarter, without an invitation to walk in, which they always accepted, and most readily permitted him to draw their portraits. The public may be assured, that the dresses are minutely attended to, and characters strictly preserved, which he hopes those who have visited the Coromandel coast will allow.[1]

There follow studies of festivals, landscapes, and costume, barbers with their customers (Fig. 8), a juggler swallowing a sword, a Hook-swinging festival, a bridegroom carried in procession, sahibs shooting flying foxes, and a typhoon carrying tents away.

Other amateur artists who responded to the country were Captain Allan and Lieutenant Colebrooke. Their subjects were the picturesque 'droogs' or hill-forts of Mysore and the Carnatic—a part of the country which received unusual attention from British artists in the period 1790–9 during the wars with Tippoo Sahib. In 1794 the lavish *Views in the Mysore Country* and *Views of Madras* were published, and eleven years later they were followed by Hunter's *Picturesque Scenery in the Kingdom of Mysore*. Robert Home's *Select Views in Mysore* were published in 1794 and Richard Barron's pictures of the Nilgiris in 1837. It was only when they were away from the official capital with its fevered round of social life that British men and women surrendered to the charms of picturesque

[1] C. Gold, *Oriental Drawings* (London, 1802), Foreword.

nature and emulated with brush and pencil the 'sketching mania' of their cousins farther north.

(ii) TANJORE

Since Madras itself made but little contribution, Indian-British art in the south was essentially the product of 'native' capitals and the first to develop it was the town of Tanjore. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, a group of artists known as 'Moochys' had worked for the local rulers, painting pictures of the court and of deities. All spoke Telegu, were called Raju, Razu, Jinigara, or Chitrakara and were resident near the palace. About 1775, according to local tradition, the community was strengthened by artist families from Hyderabad. The reasons which prompted their arrival are as uncertain as those which took the first painters from Murshidabad to Patna, but presumably their coming was connected with the British.

In 1753 Stringer Lawrence had gone to Tanjore as an envoy. Five years later the State had been attacked by the French, but it was not until 1771 and 1773 that the British had descended on it in force. In the latter year they installed an English garrison, deposed Raja Tulsaji, and made over the State to Nawab Muhammad Ali. But the Company's Court of Directors disapproved. Raja Tulsaji was reinstalled but on condition that he paid a subsidy to the Company. Tanjore accordingly became a protected State with a British garrison and its Raja a British ally. The effects of this intrusion were quickly apparent. British fashions, not only in painting, but in household furnishing, began to be adopted and as early as 1777 the Tanjore Raja employed George Willison to paint a portrait of Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras.

Into this centre the painters from Hyderabad had come, bringing with them a type of picture already partly adjusted to British fashions. As early as 1686, the year when the Italian adventurer Nicolao Manucci left Golconda, the local artists were already painting subjects with a European bias. Manucci secured a set of pictures illustrating all the Mughal emperors as well as many of the Deccan notables, and included in the set were subjects which were later to prove so typical of Indian-British art—forms of native transport such as the *chandol*, *palki*, *doli*, and other litters and the most popular subject of all, suttee. Like other raconteurs of his time, Manucci tells a long tale of the extraordinary difficulties

with which these pictures were obtained and the many risks he underwent in securing them; but the truth is almost certainly less lurid. It seems clear, partly from the character of this particular set,[1] but even more from a picture in the Victoria and Albert Museum[2] and a series in the Musée Guimet[3]—all of which are inscribed with Dutch captions—that sets of 'native rulers' and series of 'native life' were already being commissioned by the Dutch at Golconda and that the set which Manucci secured was in fact only a standard article of trade.

The style of all these pictures was entirely Deccani, and in fact as late as the mid-nineteenth century European influence at Hyderabad, though strong enough to evoke this special type of picture, was far too weak to cause any radical changes in style. Unlike Lucknow, where Gentil's scholarship had resulted in very early adjustments to Western taste, Hyderabad does not seem to have harboured any scholars and Manucci himself, despite his few pictures, is so completely silent on art that he was obviously not the man to dictate a change of technique.

In a set of 'native characters and rulers' produced, as we shall see, about the middle of the century, the local Deccani style is still quite dominant. The pictures which were sold at Sotheby's in 1951[4] possessed the following captions: 'Aureng Zeb or Allum Guir, Emperor of Indostan, died in Feb. 1707, aged 91 years'; 'Nizam Almuluck, Soubah of the Decan'; 'Nizam Nazar Jang, son of Nizam Almuluck'; 'A Gentoo Woman'; 'A Moor Woman'; 'A Byragee or Pandaram Woman'; and finally one which is of special significance for the future, 'A Tanjore Brahman'. Most of these pictures were protected by hinged cover-papers bearing the Dutch watermarks, 'J. Honig and Zoonen' or 'JH & Z'—watermarks which were current from 1737 to 1787. The paper itself, however, from its dark chain-lines could hardly have been made later than about 1750 and this is also the approximate date of the handwriting.[5] The same period is suggested by the choice of rulers and the words used to describe them. 'Nizam Almuluck, Soubah

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale. Od 45 (Réserve). Illustrated in Irvine, *Nicolao Manucci's 'Storia do Mogor'*.

[2] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.S. 227—1950.

[3] See Stchoukine, *Miniatures Indiennes*, 52–61, Nos. 78–91.

[4] These pictures were divided between the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 111 to 115—1951), and the authors.

[5] We are indebted to Mr. J. Wardrop of the Victoria and Albert Museum for this information.

of the Decan' is the title which was constantly applied to Asaf Jah, the Nizam of Hyderabad. He died in 1748, and his son, Nasir Jang, was killed only two years later during the resulting war of succession. In neither case, however, is the date of death given in the inscription. In the case of Aurangzeb, on the other hand, not only is the year but also the month of death recorded. It seems reasonably certain, therefore, that if Asaf Jah had been dead at the time of the inscription, the writer would have said, 'Late Soubah of the Deccan' instead of referring to him as the actual holder of the title. Similarly, if the pictures were executed after 1750, we would expect a reference to Nasir Jang as being lately deceased. We can reasonably conclude, then, that the set was produced certainly not later than 1748 and very probably in about 1745.

Such a set is typical of eighteenth-century Deccani painting in its Hyderabad form. The figures are set in profile against a flat background—in pale green or pallid blue—while along the top runs a small band of tangled clouds. The horizon is marked by a horizontal line and the foreground consists of either a flat wash of darker colour or a series of formal flower-beds. The complexions of the characters have a delicate pallor and the whole is executed with trim precision.

Out of this style Tanjore painting was now to develop and we can gain an idea of its character from a large-scale picture of Raja Tulsaji of Tanjore (1765–88) riding in procession[1] and from three large sets of 'native characters'—two in the Victoria and Albert Museum and one in the British Museum. One of these sets[2] was originally bound into a book on paper bearing a 1799 watermark (Fig. 39). This date, however, is at most a *terminus ante quem* and since the characters exactly resemble those in Raja Tulsaji's procession, it seems probable that the pictures themselves were painted at least twenty years earlier. The British Museum set[3] consists of forty-three pictures illustrating the 'Trades and Occupations of the Hindoos' and is evidently of the same early period since it was sold at a sale in England in 1810.

These two sets have certain characteristics which suggest an ultimate ancestry in Hyderabad and yet reveal a local Tanjore bias. Like the Hyderabad series they

[1] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.M. 319—1921.
[2] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), E.I.D. 93.B.36, part i.
[3] British Museum, Or. 54e.

show the figures against a flat background—a lemon-yellow or a chilly brilliant blue. The sky is a dark tangled strip[1] and the foreground also possesses the flatness of the Hyderabad manner. But certain changes have taken place. Instead of showing only one character, as was normal in Hyderabad painting, it has now become usual for two persons to be depicted—a man and his wife—so that male and female costumes appear in one and the same picture. There is now a greater bias in favour of actual Tanjore characters and the sets expressly include 'A Tanjore Girl and her Tickataw men' (i.e. a dancer and her musicians) and a man and woman described as 'Tanjorenes'. Moreover, the earlier preoccupation with 'better-class' characters has now given way to an interest in 'low life' and as a consequence we no longer see only sumptuous 'Moor women' or exquisitely limned 'Bairagees' but servants—'A Collery Grass-cutter', 'A Washerman and woman', 'An Officer's Cook', 'A Horse-keeper and Grass-cutter', as well as dark-skinned low-castes—'A Moochy or Sadler', 'A Teehan or Carpenter', 'A Gentoo Teakarah or Cooley Taylor', 'A Common Bangleman of the Gentoo Cast', 'A Koween or Basket Maker', 'A Pot Seller', and finally even 'A Rat Catcher', the rat hanging limply from his hand. Moreover, the prevailing complexions are now a dark blackish brown or smutty grey and indeed the whole colour ranges are more dramatic. Another change is the attachment of a pair of hard black shadows to each of the character's feet, while the eye-sockets are also heavily shaded. Finally each pair is often shown in either front or three-quarter view—a convention hardly ever practised at Hyderabad. The result therefore is that although the sets are obviously offshoots from the Hyderabad style, they are none the less clear products of Tanjore. British influences are present, but since these are still at a fairly early stage of development, we must conclude that the pictures were executed in Tanjore, but at a time when the British were still quite recent arrivals.

Another set[2] which was bound up in the same book as that containing the 1799 watermarks suggests the same process of adaptation. The characters include among others a 'Brahman cast', 'Parriah woman clapping', 'Paqueer cast', 'Moor cast', 'Pallany Pandarom', and 'Conicoply cast'. A distinctive element, however,

[1] In the Victoria and Albert Museum set, the strip of sky has been deliberately cut off, but small edges remain in places. The wild sky obviously did not conform to British standards and the owner no doubt thought the pictures improved with the edges trimmed.

[2] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), E.I.D. 93.B.36, part ii.

is the inclusion of thatched sheds, mud plinths, or grey-walled dwellings as part of the general setting. A weaver is shown seated on a greyish-cream veranda against a blackish-grey wall, surmounted by a brown-tiled roof. A goldsmith squats on an open mud platform with a thatched shed above him, and in another example a butcher sits in the same kind of open shed cutting up a goat, his wife ready to assist.

With the years 1780–1800 British influence in Tanjore rapidly increased. On Raja Tulsaji's death in 1787, his brother Amar Singh succeeded to the throne, superseding, for the time being, Serfagee, his brother's adopted son. The latter was removed in 1792 to Madras, where he was educated by the Rev. W. Geriche of the Lutheran Mission and given a taste for European modes of life. His new enthusiasm did not lead him to abjure the Hindu faith, but his surrender to British values was as complete as that of Asaf-ud-daula at Lucknow. When in 1804, six years after Serfagee had been reinstated, Lord Valentia visited him in Tanjore, he found the living-room carpeted and furnished with English chairs.

> Opposite to each other were four book-cases, filled chiefly with English books. . . . One side of the room opened to a verandah; the opposite side was covered with portraits of the Tanjore Princes of the Mahratta dynasty, downwards in succession, from Sevagee, its founder. . . . The pictures were in handsome gilt frames, painted on canvas by a native artist, from drawings on the walls of the palace, many of which were going to decay. They had considerable merit, and were interesting, as being likenesses of persons who had made a conspicuous figure in the theatre of English politics. . . . He next conducted me to a room he called his drawing room; the walls were covered with pictures and prints of every possible kind. It was furnished with English chairs and tables; and on the latter were paper, colours and every implement of drawing, another amusement of which he is very fond.

Valentia then describes how he wanted to procure a picture of the pyramidal temple of Tanjore and how 'the Raja had a drawing made of it for me, on a scale, by a country draughtsman of great merit'.[1]

Serfagee's interest in Western art evidently dated from his early years in Tanjore when a missionary, Mr. Swartz, had taught him to draw in the Western manner, and it is more than possible that a large book of natural history drawings in the India Office Library called 'The Mysore collection' was made

[1] Valentia, *Voyages*, i. 359–60, 356.

at the young Raja's behest and received his own marginal comments. The paper has an 1801 watermark and beside the pictures of insects, shells, starfish, animals, and birds, are notes in a careful English handwriting on ruled pencil lines such as Raja Serfagee might well have learnt from his missionary teachers. Not only are the comments obviously written by someone not fully versed in the language, but many references to Tanjore and the Palace suggest that the pictures were made in that town rather than in Mysore and that the notes were written by someone very familiar with the State.[1] Beside a shell is written, 'A kind of Sea-Worm cage'; beside a *shamah*, 'This birds was lately brought to Tanjore from Hyderabad. They are likewise fond of grass-hoppers.' A wild she-buffalo is labelled as coming 'from forest of Putticandoo, Tanjore country'. Concerning a hunting lynx is written: 'He will lurk and Craw upon any beast, but if the beast run away then he will stood only and expects to another. The people who exercise this animal in regard to keep it under their possession instills four or five drops of urine of the man into his mouth. He become very soon in the possession of the man. Both male and female are fit for hunting, but this is female kind. The explanation of the nature of this animal was stated by the experencial after it was arrived in the Palace.'

Whether this particular collection, however, was made for the Raja or not, the strength of his Western taste is clear and when Swartz died in 1798, Raja Serfagee commissioned Flaxman in England to make a bas-relief depicting his last visit to the old missionary.

The adjustments that the Tanjore artists made to British tastes are further evident in a specimen reproduced by Captain Gold in his book *Oriental Drawings*. Most of the pictures in this book are products of Gold's own brush, but one of them—a study of a beggar with his wife and children—bears a note, 'drawn by the Moochy of Tanjore'. This picture (Fig. 10) closely parallels three of the sets we have just discussed, the style and colouring of the figures being almost entirely the same. But the flat backgrounds are now entirely absent and in their place are certain new conventions—a white and azure sky with towering jagged clouds,

[1] I.O.L. 91.E.7. The pictures may have been presented by the Raja to Col. Colin Mackenzie and thus found their way to the India Office Library along with the latter's collection made for the Mysore survey. Col. Mackenzie himself employed Indian artists during his great surveys and for his work on the Amaravati ruins. Many drawings by Indians, including pictures of costume, are amongst his vast collection of manuscripts.

a background of buildings and trees, and a receding foreground. All these idioms are unmistakably British and Gold himself suggests how they came to be included.

The accompanying is the *fac-simile* of a painting done by one of their ablest *artists*, well known by the title of the Tanjore *Moochy*, and famed throughout the country, not so much for the specimens of his own invention, as for his great skill and ingenuity in imitating the finest miniatures from the European pencil, so as to deceive persons of good taste, if not the connoisseur. The Moochys, or Artists of India, usually paint in the stile represented in the present drawing, but in body colour, and sometimes finish their pictures in the delicate and laboured manner of a miniature; though they at the same time are entirely devoid of truth in colouring and perspective, and constantly err on the side of ornament and gaudiness of dress; excepting where the subject does not admit of much finery and decoration, as with the beggars; and then they possess considerable merit as to costume and character. On the suggestion of the Europeans, some of the country artists have been induced to draw series of the most ordinary casts or tribes, each picture representing a man and his wife, with the signs or marks of distinction on their foreheads, and not in their common, but holiday clothes. This of course does not familiarize their appearance, but disguises the character so much, that were it not for some particular badge or implement, such as the peon's belt, and the golden tea kettle in the cook's hand, it would not be an easy matter to discriminate their occupations. These drawings, not withstanding, do credit to the uninstructed authors of them; and the world is about to be gratified with a series of coloured engravings from them, under the title of THE COSTUME OF INDIA, which, when revised by the hand of an able European artist, will certainly merit notice and encouragement from their novelty. *They are published* by ORME, No. 59, *New Bond Street.*[1]

This drawing by the 'Tanjore Moochy' must be dated about 1800 and in the next thirty years two further developments appeared. The conventions exploited by the Moochy reappear in a set in the Victoria and Albert Museum[2] possibly executed at about the same time. These pictures (Fig. 38) are much larger and the colours coarse and garish. Yet the general postures and cast of feature are similar, and the background of lush exuberant vegetation is only a heightened version of the landscape introduced in the picture of the beggar. Finally the towering clouds used by the 'Tanjore Moochy' reappear in the jagged forms

[1] Gold, *Drawings*, note to 'A Lame Beggar and his Family'.

[2] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), A.L. 8940.

which fill the sky. The other development is illustrated by a set of 'native characters' in the India Office Library[1] executed on paper with an 1819 watermark. Here the same recessions are employed as in the drawing of the beggar, but instead of the trees with dense foliage, the landscape is shown as a mere open plain edged by two or three small trees or bushes. The sky is now a dim azure and so close is the general effect to the pallid hues of British water-colours that we can see how pertinent are the remarks written at the foot of one of the pictures, 'The Moochie man. This tribe is one of the most useful in India, they are excellent copyists.'

Local artists made two other attempts to flatter British taste. The 'Tanjore Moochy', as we have seen, was renowned for his skill in copying Western miniatures, and although work at Tanjore never attained the same volume as at Patna or Delhi, from 1790 onwards portraits on ivory measuring about 6 inches in length were frequently produced. In the Dandapany collection at Madras, there are early portraits on ivory of a British boy and girl and of a European officer, as well as several portrait studies on paper. The ivory was obtained from Palghat and even as late as 1896 portraits on ivory traced from photographs were being made.[2]

The other kind of painting was concerned almost exclusively with Hindu gods and goddesses. Some of these pictures were painted on card or paper, but most were on wooden tablets or cloth. The cloth or board was first carefully prepared with a paste of powder and gum. The indigenous colours were then mixed with a white earth called *sudha* which is found in the district. When finished the whole picture was polished with a shell or cloth until it had a hard gloss like the famed Madras plaster. Many of the pictures were elaborately bejewelled with fragments of glass, stone, or metal and were then richly gilded.[3] Most of these pictures were doubtless intended for a Hindu public. The faces of the gods and goddesses are depicted with large eyes and heavily lined features, the whole remarkable for their hard and formal symmetry. Their figures are characterized by round modelling and shading. A set which shows these charac-

[1] I.O.L. ALR 2B.

[2] Mr. F. J. Richards, who was posted to Tanjore as Assistant Collector in 1896, remembers such portraits being made.

[3] Some examples with a heavily embossed effect are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), 7368, 7373.

teristics is a series of gods and goddesses painted on paper with an 1820 watermark and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[1] In each case the background is left blank and the colours are bright and harsh—pink, green, red, and yellow predominating. A second set, the Incarnations of Vishnu, is also in the Victoria and Albert Museum[2] which it reached after being 'presented to the Royal Asiatic Society on the 1st December, 1828 by Wm Marsden'. The pictures are on paper pasted on to two long pieces of wood, and although the features are not conventionalized, the figure drawing is in the same Indian-British style.

(iii) Trichinopoly

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century some Tanjore artists established themselves at Trichinopoly and began to paint on mica, on glass, and to a less extent on paper. Mica was readily available in Cuddapah and Madras and this may well have suggested its employment for painting. It is more likely, however, that the British brought mica paintings from Murshidabad, Patna, or Benares and the local artists were spurred to produce their own variants. Although there is no evidence that mica paintings were produced in Trichinopoly long before 1850, it is certain that by this date the industry was in a flourishing condition. One of the earliest surviving sets is a series mounted in four volumes in the Victoria and Albert Museum—the paper bearing 1851 watermarks.[3] Each volume bears a title in gilt lettering—'Talc Drawings. Trichinopoly Exports'—and this itself suggests that mica painting was already so developed that specimens of the art were being sent to England for the Great Exhibition of 1851. The subjects, which are mainly religious, have English captions such as 'Runganada Swami' (Fig. 37); 'Rajamannaroo, a Hindoo deity. Tanjore soobah', 'Madura Neerasawmy and his two wives', 'Vurdaraja Perumall at Conjeeveram', 'Rungapalhy Sawmy-residence near Tanjore', 'Vykoontav-asooloo—residence at Mysore', 'A Roman Catholic Procession at Pondicherry', and 'The Chedul Feast, Trichinopoly where a man swings on a hook hung by the back'.

Similar sets on mica representing fruit, flowers, birds, snakes (Fig. 36), temples, butterflies, castes, and trades (Fig. 41), the latter complete with apparatus and

[1] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.M. 393 to 453—1923.
[2] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.M. 561—1924.
[3] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), 4662–5.

shops, were also widely produced and are represented by numerous examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the India Office Library, and the British Museum.[1] One example consists of ten sets of flowers, birds, gods, and castes which were collected by Frederic Layard who left the Ceylon Civil Service in 1861. Regimental uniforms were also portrayed occasionally.

The style of all these sets is very similar, being in the main much cruder and more gaudy than the painting on paper in Tanjore. The artists seem to have revelled in arsenic greens, vivid reds, bilious yellows, and an ugly hot ochre with reddish-brown shadows. Outlines are in hard black and the shading is shown by streaks of the brush in thick tacky paint. A bright yellow-ochre ground shades to black through chocolate-brown. Staring white buildings have a blue shading, small bosky trees line the horizon and white house-plinths have crimson stripes.

Yet in spite of these vulgar effects the trade prospered, and when T. N. Mukharji was surveying the art-manufactures of India in 1888 he noted that, along with Benares, Trichinopoly was the principal centre for paintings on talc. 'They are chiefly illustrative of castes and native industries', he added. 'A book containing a dozen pictures of this kind may be had for Rs 4.'[2]

Glass paintings were probably a slightly later development—a characteristic effect being obtained by shading and a common subject being the strangely fat and bloated Krishna which appears in Tanjore paintings of the 1820 period.

(iv) Pudukkottai, Srirangam, Madura, and the Malabar Coast

Besides Tanjore and Trichinopoly, a few other areas in the south also produced work for the British.

Pudukkottai, a small State forty miles south of Trichinopoly, had always been a satellite of Tanjore. When Zoffany visited the town, the local artists were so impressed by his pictures that they continued to copy them for years, just as the Lucknow artists copied Tilly Kettle's. These artists who came from Tanjore were engaged until the end of the nineteenth century on portraits of local notables

[1] e.g. Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section): I.M. 178 to 181—1923; I.S. 4668 to 4673—1923; I.S. 6 to 17—1953. India Office Library: ALR 1A; ALR 1C. British Museum: 1913-2-8-07; 037, 053, 037.

[2] T. N. Mukharji, *Art Manufactures of India* (Calcutta, 1888), 24. See also Note XX, p. 120.

in a semi-British style and in producing paintings on mica to the Trichinopoly pattern.

About this time Srirangam, three miles north of Trichinopoly, also developed a British market. Pictures were produced in the Trichinopoly manner on mica or on thin sheets of ivory and were sold to the British tourists who visited the Ranganatha temple.

At Madura artistic production centred in the interest aroused by its large and picturesque temples. The town had come under British rule in 1801 and thereafter a settlement had gradually grown up composed of British officers and their wives. No extensive trade in pictures seems to have developed, but local artists appear to have produced architectural paintings when specially commissioned to do so. Two army officers, Lieutenants Jenkins and Whelpfdale, made use of a local painter when preparing their architectural drawings—Ravanat Naig, a Madura artist, being specially mentioned in connexion with three studies of temple architecture which are bound up with Gantz's 'Hindu Costumes and Architectural Drawings in Southern India' (1841).[1] Other paintings by Madura artists are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[2] One of these is entitled 'Tarooomaul Naick's and Fen Rajah's inside of Poodoo manabum. Large. Price 6 rupees.' All these pictures are in a strongly British style: perspective is fully employed, and the prevailing tone is a sombre sepia heightened with touches of blue, red, and yellow.

The Malabar Coast too seems to have been a minor centre for Indian-British art. In 1792 the State was ceded to the British and the small factories at Anjengo, Ponnant, Calicut, and Tellichery were augmented by settlements of officials and military. At one of these a local artist produced a number of 'native character' sets entitled 'Costume of the Malabar Coast'. One of these sets in the India Office Library (Figs. 42 and 43) is executed on paper with an 1826 watermark.[3] Similar specimens are to be found, identical in style though somewhat smaller.[4] A set in the British Museum entitled 'Costumes of South India' and watermarked 1843 shows the style at a somewhat later stage.

[1] I.O.L., Case 5.20.

[2] Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), 08100–7; I.M. 55 and 56–1924.

[3] I.O.L., ALR 1A.

[4] See Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.S. 255 to 265—1951, and the collections of Mr. D. V. Sassoon and the authors.

9

WESTERN INDIA

In the west painting for the British was even scarcer than in the south. Until 1830 when the first steamer, the *Hugh Lindsay*, sailed from India to Suez, Bombay was a mere backwater far from the main route from Britain to the East. Originally founded as a naval base from which to control commercial shipping along the western coast, it had never possessed the far-flung trading connexions of Madras or Calcutta. After the Treaty of Bassein in 1802 Bombay gained a new political importance, to be further increased by the acquisition of the Peshwa's territories in 1818. But it remained an isolated minor station, 'provincial' in character, and far removed from the greatest centres of Indian trade. For this reason it attracted a humbler, less brilliant personnel; art received scanty attention and there was little painting. In Madras and Calcutta cultured men and women were by no means uncommon, and numbers of them passed through on their way 'up the country'. In Bombay, on the other hand, cultured talk was rare and even in 1825 Mrs. Elwood, a colonel's wife who had already made a reputation for herself as a literary critic in England, was disappointed with the conversation. She confessed:

> The gentlemen have not so much chance of being teased with bas bleux in Bombay as in England, literature being seldom brought on the tapis, and by scarcely any chance is a book ever mentioned in *general* society, though I had the pleasure of being acquainted with some ladies there, whose acquirements and elegance of manners rendered them equal to those of the most superior of their sex in England. I was well amused, one day, with hearing a lady just fresh from Edinburgh and its Literary Coteries, innocently asking a Bombay Belle 'whether she made poetry?'. Now, as there are but few, even of the lordly sex, guilty of trespassing on Parnassian ground in India, which since the days of Camoens has inspired but few poets, the astonishment of the one at the question, and the consternation of the other at her surprise, were perfectly ludicrous. She observed to me afterwards with great naïveté, 'every-

body made verses in Scotland, and she thought they might do the same at Bombay'.[1]

A similar indifference affected painting and although James Wales, Robert Mabon, Edward Nash, James Westall, and Neil Cormack all produced local landscapes, Bombay never patronized professional artists to the same extent as did Calcutta and Madras.

This indifference to art and literature persisted and in 1850 Lady Falkland was dismayed at the general atmosphere prevailing.

> The topics of conversation [she wrote] are generally local in their nature. Those who have passed, perhaps twenty or thirty years in India, have lost much of their interest in the 'courts, camps and cabinets' of Europe; and the younger members of society have all their hopes and expectations centred in the country to which their future belongs. It is, therefore, natural that, who is to be the new councillor, or who has the vacant collectorate, or who is the newly appointed chief secretary, should be subjects of greater interest than whether Lord Palmerston will lose his election, or who is to be the first Lord of the Admiralty.

And she goes on to relate her conversation with an old soldier whose only replies were 'I know nothing at all about it', 'I take no interest at all in it'.[2]

The boycott of the intellect at Bombay was aggravated by the want of a romantic hinterland or even of up-country stations. We have already noted how conditions of isolation often induced the British to explore the picturesque and to discover interests which might otherwise have lain quite dormant. It was certainly the comparative isolation of life in Murshidabad, Patna, and Benares which contributed to the rise of painting for the British in all these places. But in western India, on the other hand, there was no hinterland studded with British colonies until after 1820. By the late eighteenth century a small temporary colony would congregate in the rainy season each year around Government House at Dapuri, six miles from Kirkee, and in the hot weather Europeans would often migrate to Mahableshwar. There was also an attractive cantonment for cavalry regiments at Kirkee, and in 1802 another cantonment for artillery and infantry was established at Poona. 'The Cantonments', said the author of *Fifteen Years in India*, 'formed a beautiful display of elegant cottages and bungalows, surrounded

[1] A. Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey Overland from England by the Continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea, to India* (London, 1830–2), ii. 100.

[2] Falkland, *Chow-Chow*, 66.

by gardens in the European style, filled with various fruits of the Deckan overtopped with cypress trees that imparted a majestic grandeur to the scene.'[1] Victor Jacquemont, the French naturalist, however, found Poona in 1832 as dead as Bombay and of the British there he wrote: 'They remind me of my Lord *What-Then*, in the "Princess of Babylon", by their prodigious indifference for everything that is beyond the confined circle of their own monotonous existence. I prefer the Cashmerians, who alone formed my society last year; I think they had more vivacity of mind than the black and red automatons which people these headquarters of the British power in India.'[2] These stations were the only British settlements inland and until 1818, when the wide Maratha possessions were acquired, the British colonies were confined to Bombay and a few small settlements along the coast.[3] It was not until almost all the Maratha rulers had been reduced to landlords that the British turned their attention to Cutch and Sind. Cutch was not controlled until 1819, when, following a revolt by the Rao, a Resident was appointed. Sind was not acquired until 1843, when the various treaties of 1819, 1820, and 1832 with the Talpur Amirs collapsed. Both were therefore on the fringes of British influence until the thirties and forties. Yet by this time the Bengal and Madras Presidencies had both built up their own traditions.

But of greater significance was a third entirely different circumstance. As the British gradually penetrated the Maratha territory, they nowhere met any strong artistic community or artists anxious to obtain new patronage. In Gujerat Jain miniature painting was no longer in a flourishing condition, and at Poona the robustly martial character of the Maratha Peshwas seems to have completely inhibited the rise of a vigorous local school. Certainly at the end of the eighteenth century, when Sir Charles Malet became the Resident at Poona, he had little difficulty in imposing British standards on the Peshwa or in persuading him in 1791 to employ a British artist, James Wales, for painting his family portraits. These included studies of Mahadji Scindia, the Peshwa Sawai Madhavradeo, and Nana Farnavis; and when Lady Falkland visited the latter's widow, a little old woman 'covered from head to foot with a large red shawl', she was shown Nana Farnavis's picture as well as a study of the young Peshwa, Mahadeo Rao,

[1] Lieut. Wallace, *Fifteen Years in India* (London, 1822), 453.
[2] V. Jacquemont, *Letters from India, 1829–32* (London, 1834), ii. 315.
[3] Such as Tanna, Bassein, Salsette, Broach, Surat, and Bankot.

'painted by a good European artist in the time of her husband's greatest prosperity'.[1] While at Poona from 1791 to 1795, Wales, with his assistant, Robert Mabon, made sketches of the Poona Durbar showing Sir Charles Malet and his suite delivering to the Peshwa the 1790 treaty of alliance between the British and the Marathas, and these sketches were later to provide Daniell with the basis for a large painting in oils. Wales was further employed to superintend a palace school of drawing and although the work of his pupils has still to be identified, one of them, Gangaram Tambat, is recorded as being the most proficient.

The consequences of this teaching can perhaps be seen at Satara, where descendants of the Maratha leader, Sivaji, were living when Sir Bartle Frere was Political Resident from 1846 to 1849. Frere succeeded in obtaining a set of portraits of the Peshwas and their ministers,[2] and the style, which is common to some other portraits preserved in Satara, shows exactly that mixture of British and Indian elements which we would expect from Wales's teaching.

Wales, however, was not the only influence, and when Lady Falkland visited Sivaji's descendants she was struck by the thoroughly miscellaneous character of the furnishings. 'The walls were covered with paintings, apparently copied from common English prints. They were on glass, and done in China, so crowded that the frames touched each other; and were placed with little or no reference to the subject. Modern kings and heroes, ancient gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome, and Hindoo deities, all being mixed together.'[3] One reclining Venus, for whom there was no room, had even been crammed in so that she appeared standing on her head.

The same lack of any flourishing artistic community or even of a local artistic tradition characterized Cutch. When Mrs. Elwood visited the Rao in about the year 1826, she found him collecting western bric-a-brac as Asaf-ud-daula had done in Oudh. He exhibited

> for our amusement, with the greatest glee [she writes] a trumpery piece of clockwork, which threw into positive raptures the heavy-turbaned, wild-looking, dark-faced whiskered Cutchees around; and I was amused more, however, with the animate than the inanimate figures. In an adjoining room, Ruttunnji pointed out with great complacency a pair of English globes, a musical snuff-box and treated us with a tune

[1] Falkland, op. cit. 135.

[2] Now in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.

[3] Falkland, op. cit. 242.

on a barrel-organ, such as may be heard any day in the streets of London. In the spacious verandah or rather gallery which entirely surrounded the interior room, was a most curious medley of pictures—and many a print of an English belle, who certainly never expected to have gained a station in the palace of the Rao of Cutch, appeared intermingled with portraits of the reigning family, which exhibited some good specimens of the art of painting in these remote regions. There was no design or shade, so that Queen Elizabeth would have liked to have had her countenance taken by one of these artists; but the colouring was by no means bad and every part was laboured and finished with the utmost precision and exactness.[1]

These same pictures are described by Mrs. Postans, who says they were 'either horrible copies, or the worst possible prints, from the old English and Dutch masters. Amongst them are Hogarth's "Rake's Progress",—sundry portraits of Lady Carteret, in stomacher and *toupée*—with here and there a dismal-looking shepherdess, or a snuff-coloured *belle* of the Rao's own family, executed by a Chinese artist'.[2] The Rao in fact was fast absorbing European 'culture' and he 'is particularly anxious', says Mrs. Postans, 'that his people should improve in the art of drawing; and I think they might soon acquire the requisite degree of cultivation'.[3] The reference to a Chinese artist is significant, since it implies that the local artists were not capable of painting a portrait.

The few traces of painting that can be found are the result less of initiative by Indian artists than of casual demands by the British. Thomas Duer Broughton, who served as the Commander of the escort of the Resident to Scindia, produced a volume entitled *The Costume, Character, Manners, Domestic Habits and Religious Ceremonies of the Mahrattas, Letters written in a Mahratta Camp during the year 1809*, which was illustrated with pictures by a certain 'Deen Ulee'. The occasion for writing this volume is described by Broughton as follows,

> It was my chance to be placed in a situation in the camp of one of the principal Mahratta chieftains, where I had more leisure hours than I knew well how to fill up; and where, being almost entirely secluded from European society, I was happy to grasp at any means which offered of employing that time, which though so valuable in itself, is but too often found to lie a heavy burden upon our hands. To converse with the natives, and to acquire in that way some knowledge of their habits and customs, had always been a source of amusement to me.[4]

[1] Elwood, op. cit. ii. 218–19. [2] Postans, *Cutch*, 40. [3] Ibid. 224.
[4] T. D. Broughton, *Selections from the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos* (London, 1814), 5.

In order to render the scene more vivid, Broughton engaged Din Ali, a Muhammadan artist, to share the long sultry marches and record the picturesque. It is certainly the European qualities of shading and sombre colouring that characterize Din Ali's work and we see again all the standard subjects which elsewhere Indian artists had been directed to draw at the British instance. The book includes pictures of festivals such as the Muharram, Holi, and the 'Junum ushtoomee', 'native character' sketches such as a nautch (Fig. 40), shop-keepers in camp, a Maratha sirdar entertaining Brahmins, and a Maratha pandit and his family, while in the background appear the tents and soldiers of Broughton's camp and dim vistas of Maratha country.

Another set is referred to by Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs*. It appears that Sir Charles Malet had befriended a Brahmin at Cambay and possibly as a result of Sir Charles's own enthusiasm for sketching, this Brahmin developed an unusual interest in recording nature from the British angle. He was certainly not a professional artist, but being 'fond of drawing', as Forbes declares, he 'had acquired a skill and judgement in that amusement beyond any native I ever met with; he presented me, on a further acquaintance, with fifty portraits of persons well known at Cambay and the adjacent country, high and low, of different tribes and religions, in their various costume and distinct character of countenance, together with drawings taken from life of the most celebrated yogees, senassees, and other religious pilgrims, who frequented the Hindoo temples at Cambay'.[1]

That sets of 'native characters' were occasionally produced in western India is suggested by two other pieces of evidence. A set of pictures recording Indians all in Maratha costume is in the Patna Museum, where it forms part of the same volume dated 1828 which contains a series of Benares studies in brilliant red and blue. The year 1828 is obviously only a *terminus ante quem* and the pictures, with their weak and hesitating lines and pale water-colours may easily be ten or twenty years earlier, the product of British influence somewhere in the Maratha country. Another set in the India Office Library[2] may have come from Cutch or Sind, for it is this area which is suggested by the costume. Such sets were never mass-produced as in eastern India, but were the result of random patronage by enthusiastic individuals.

[1] Forbes, *Memoirs*, iii. 201.

[2] I.O.L., 'Archaeological Remains and Antiquities, vol. 53, Costume.'

10

NATURAL HISTORY PAINTINGS

BESIDES the impulse to record the picturesque one further British interest affected Indian painting. 'After all that has been already done', wrote the Company Surgeon, Patrick Russell, in 1795, 'India still presents a wide field for research; and the progress made of late years, in other branches of knowledge, affords room to expect material improvement in Natural History, if ardour for enquiry continues to prevail; if the means of making new acquisitions are facilitated; and if a spirit of scientific emulation among the Company's servants abroad, meets with . . . encouragement.'[1]

The same concern for natural history was shared by Emma Roberts. 'There are so very few methods for the employment of the time of the softer sex in India', she wrote, that 'a love of natural history opens up endless fields of pleasurable research to those who have enjoyed a taste for it.' Travellers, she thought, should start even on the boat by procuring a thermometer and collecting sea weeds and marine animals. She added that 'the periodicals of India afford great facilities to those who desire to make the fruits of their researches known. Vast quantities of the most useful research are to be found in these valuable productions, as almost yet wholly supported by amateur contributors.'[2]

The Company itself subscribed to similar views. Wellesley declared in a Minute dated 26 July 1804:

> The illustration and improvement of that important branch of the natural history of India, which embraces an object so extensive as the description of the principal parts of the animal kingdom, is worthy of the munificence and liberality of the English East India Company, and must necessarily prove an acceptable service to the world. To facilitate and promote all enquiries which may be calculated to enlarge the

[1] P. Russell, Preface to W. Roxburgh's *Plants of the Coast of Coromandel* (London, 1795–1819).
[2] Roberts, *Voyager*, 31, 122–3, 128.

boundaries of general science, is a duty imposed on the British Government in India by its present exalted situation.[1]

As a result of this interest, various British people began to collect specimens, establish aviaries, and sometimes small menageries, and, in general, order their impressions.

Mrs. Maitland describes how she sent home snake poison for analysis as well as specimens for the British Museum. She writes:

> I have been trying to entomologize, as there are abundance of curious insects. Mr Spence himself told me, before I left home, that the insects of India were very little known, and that I could not fail to find many new specimens, especially among the smaller Coleoptera. It is impossible to go 'à la chasse' oneself, so I employed the beggar-boys, who at first liked the amusement and brought me a great many, but they gradually grew tired of it, and are now too lazy to find me any more at all. I raised my price, but all in vain. These naked imps prefer sitting on the grass all day with nothing to do, crumpled up and looking like tadpoles.[2]

Hartly House, Calcutta, a novel published in 1789, refers to a 'Mrs. D' who 'is a woman of taste and good education, and has a menagery, as you call it in England, of the feathered tribes peculiar to this country; beautiful cockatoos, and minhos without number; lories—but she gave five-and-twenty gold mohrs for three of them; they are natives of Batavia, and in high esteem here for their articulation: she has also a bird with buff-coloured wings and a white breast of the Bilo species, that has a million of worshippers among the Gentoos, and named by them the Bramine kite'.[3]

But the preservation of specimens was laborious and cumbersome and it was chiefly by means of drawing, sketching, and copying that the British extended their knowledge of Indian plants and animals. This practice was a natural development from the 'sketching mania' and indeed Forbes went so far as to regard it as 'the principal recreation' of his life. 'In my secluded situation in Guzerat,' he wrote, 'I seemed to be blest with another sense. My friends in India were happy to enlarge my collection; the sportsman suspended his career after royal game to procure me a curiosity; the Hindoo often brought a bird or an

[1] R. M. Martin, *The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley during his Administration in India* (London, 1836–7), iv. 674.

[2] Maitland, *Letters*, 71.

[3] S. Goldborne, *Hartly House, Calcutta* (London, 1789), ii. 43–44.

insect for delineation, knowing it would then regain its liberty; and the brahmin supplied specimens of fruit and flowers from his sacred enclosures.'[1] As a result so many illustrations flowed from Forbes's hand that during his nineteen years in India, his drawings and notes amounted to 52,000 pages contained in 150 folio volumes.

Into this undertaking Indian artists were gradually brought. It was realized that without their assistance many plants and creatures would go unrecorded. It was seen that the Indian tradition of minute and delicate brushwork was well suited to the careful delineation of plant and animal life. Above all, the capacity of the Indian painter to change his style and adjust it to foreign requirements was quickly appreciated. Serious students began to recruit Indian artists to their household staffs, to supply them with specimens and to engage them as permanent copyists. Many physicians and surgeons in the Company's service had private painters.[2] General Martin when at Lucknow employed Indian artists to make water-colour drawings of plants.[3] In the south Patrick Russell employed a local artist from 1785 to 1789 to copy snakes and fishes and in the Preface to his *Descriptions and Figures of Two Hundred Fishes collected at Vizagapatam on the Coast of Coromandel*, he notes, 'a native painter whom I retained in my employment, had made progressive improvement in this line. Endued by nature with a quick eye, patient and docile, he learned in a short time to delineate so accurately the parts pointed out to him, that his figures, howsoever deficient in art and grace, may in general be relied on in respect to fidelity in representation.'[4]

But it was two other figures—Major-General Hardwicke of the Bengal Artillery and Brian Houghton Hodgson of Nepal—who made the greatest of these local collections. Hardwicke's enthusiasm seems to have existed from the start of his career, for as early as 1797 he was using a native artist in Cawnpore to make drawings of birds.[5] Forbes Royle refers to Hardwicke in the Preface to his

[1] Forbes, *Memoirs*, i, Preface, xi.

[2] I.O.L. See collections of Natural History drawings, N. Room, 91.E.1–9.

[3] About 600 of these drawings, some by Indian artists, are now at Kew. See *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information*, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, No. 4, 1919, 207–8.

[4] P. Russell, *Descriptions and Figures of Two Hundred Fishes collected at Vizagapatam on the Coast of Coromandel* (London, 1803), i, Preface. It was almost certainly the same artist who had made the figures for his *An Account of Indian Serpents* (London, 1796).

[5] Notes occurring on the paintings in Hardwicke's collection suggest that others shared his enthusiasm: e.g. a bird-painting bears the note: 'Drawn by a painter in the employ of Dr. Place—an ill-

Natural History of the Himalayas as having 'most kindly placed in the author's hands ten volumes of drawings made in the plains of Northern India, and also while travelling nearly thirty years ago in the Himalayas'.[1] J. E. Gray also in his *Illustrations of Indian Zoology* (1830–5) used many of Hardwicke's pictures, noting how the 'drawings were made upon the spot and chiefly from living specimens of Animals—executed by English and Native Artists, constantly employed for this purpose under his [Hardwicke's] own immediate superintendence'.[2] The 1,500 drawings of birds, animals, and insects, which ultimately reached the Natural History Museum, London, were only a fraction of his collection from which many pictures had been given away to friends.

Brian Houghton Hodgson was equally enthusiastic. During his first years in Calcutta he had known Sir Charles D'Oyly and provided sketches for his lithographs. It was while he lived in Nepal, however, from 1825 to 1844, that he developed a passion for Indian zoology, which, 'in the branches of birds and quadrupeds', he wrote to his sister, 'amuses me much. I have three native artists always employed in drawing from nature. I possess a live tiger, a wild sheep, a wild goat, four bears, three civets and three score of our beautiful pheasants. A rare menagerie. And my drawings now amount to two thousand.'[3] After retiring from the Company's service in 1844 he lived as a recluse at Darjeeling until 1858, continuing all the time to study zoology. When he died he left to the Natural History Museum 55 folios depicting fishes, birds, animals, and reptiles, and to the Zoological Society 1,241 pictures of birds and 567 of mammals.

But it was at the headquarters of the Company in Calcutta itself that natural history drawings were produced in their greatest quantities. As early as 1774 Sir Elijah and Lady Impey began a vast collection and although much of it has since disappeared, 63 large sheets have been preserved in the Library of the Linnaean Society, London. They include forty-seven pictures of birds, many of them perched in the trees on which they nested or fed, eight of mammals, and eight of plants. There is an Indian goatsucker on the ficus, a flying fox (Fig. 44),

executed figure, but a strong likeness of the bird; a living subject in Mr. Place's possession at Cawnpore.'

[1] J. F. Royle, *Illustrations of the Botany and Other Branches of the Natural History of the Himalayan Mountains and of the Flora of Cashmere* (London, 1833–9), i. 3.

[2] J. E. Gray and T. Hardwicke, *Illustrations of Indian Zoology* (London, 1830–5), Preface.

[3] W. W. Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson* (London, 1896), 79.

a parrot (Fig. 47), a Pagoda Thrush on the banyan tree (Fig. 46), and a mountain rat eating the 'Hindustani Almond' (Fig. 45). Butterflies, moths, caterpillars, and chrysalises are also portrayed on some of the leaves. The pictures are mostly signed and dated—the majority being by a Muhammadan artist, Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, while a few are by Ram Das and Bhawani Das, all of them 'natives of Patna', but apparently living and working in Calcutta.[1]

Others followed the Impeys' example, and when Pennant published *The View of Hindoostan* in 1798, he wrote,

> In gratitude I must mention the several friends to whom I am indebted for information respecting the natural history of this rich province [Bengal]. Sir Elijah Impey and his lady, gave me the most liberal access to their vast and elegant collection of drawings, made with much fidelity on the spot; to them I was indebted for permission to have several copies made by my paintress, Miss Stone, taken from the most curious subjects of their cabinet. Mrs Edward Wheler [the wife of a member of the Supreme Council of Bengal] communicated to me the numerous paintings which she collected in Bengal,[2] nor was Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, less favorable in promoting my design. He laid before me his great treasure of Asiatic drawings of quadrupeds, birds, fishes and vegetables, with the offer of permission to have copies made of those I thought might suit my purpose.[3]

It was natural that a little later the Company itself should follow suit—the more so since the Directors had already become actively concerned with local flora and fauna on account of their commercial and medicinal properties. In 1793 the Company took the important step of establishing some large botanical gardens at Garden Reach outside Calcutta. It was intended that these should grow a number of rare plants, but even more that the staff should make an exhaustive survey of India's flora. Although, 'with a more immediate view to utility', they gave preference to 'subjects connected either with medicine, the arts, or manufactures', they also encouraged 'the admission of new plants, or of such as have hitherto been imperfectly described, although their qualities and uses may as yet remain unexplored'. As part of this survey, extensive drawings were required

[1] See Note XXI, p. 120.

[2] British Museum (Natural History), Table Case J. Pictures of a 'Lolgundy', a squirrel on a banyan spray, a 'lora', a finch on a corinda tree, and a 'Sinnabuze' on a neem tree. Mrs. Wheler went to India in 1777.

[3] T. Pennant, *The View of Hindoostan* (London, 1798–1800), ii. 156.

and a small group of Indian artists were therefore recruited to work under the first director, Dr. William Roxburgh.[1] Exactly how they were engaged has not been recorded, but to judge from the signatures on many of the drawings—Gurudayal, Haludar, Vishnu Prasad, and Mahangu Lal—they were probably up-country Kayasths from Murshidabad or Patna or farther north. When Maria Graham visited the gardens in 1810 she was delighted by their careful draughtsmanship. 'After having visited the garden', she wrote, 'Dr. Roxburgh obligingly allowed me to see his native artists at work, drawing some of the most rare of his botanical treasures; they are the most beautiful and correct delineations of flowers I ever saw. Indeed the Hindoos excel in all minute works of this kind.'[2] Under Roxburgh's direction from 1793 to 1813, the team produced about 2,500 paintings which are now bound into thirty-five volumes known as the Roxburgh Icones. Copies were made of these paintings (Fig. 49) so that similar sets exist at Kew and in the Wellesley collection at the India Office Library.

Roxburgh's work, however, was only the beginning, for under his successor, Nathaniel Wallich (1817–46) some of the same artists continued to work and new ones were recruited. 'The present work', Wallich wrote in the preface to his *Plantae Asiaticae Rariores* in 1830, 'consists of a selection of plants made chiefly from a series of 1200 drawings, executed under my direction by Indian artists, at the Calcutta Gardens, and on my various journeys.' The name of Vishnu Prasad appears again on these drawings, as well as the fresh names of Gorachand and Rungiah.[3] The work had evidently gone on unabated and in fact Vishnu Prasad and his associates had by now such a reputation that while Wallich was on leave they were borrowed by Forbes Royle, the Curator of the Saharanpur Garden from 1823 to 1831, to make drawings which were subsequently embodied in his *Illustrations of the Botany and other Branches of the Natural History of the Himalayan Mountains and of the Flora of Cashmere* (1833–9). Once again the signature of Vishnu Prasad appears as well as that of a 'Luchmun Sing' on the

[1] Dr. William Roxburgh, as Company's Botanist in the Carnatic, had already used Indian artists while working on the Coromandel Coast. The paintings made by his artist were sent home to the Court of Directors and the magnificent plates in his *Plants of the Coast of Coromandel* were made from them.

[2] Graham, *Journal*, 146.

[3] The two former names had also appeared in his *Tentamen Florae Napalensis Illustratae* (Calcutta and Serampore, 1824–6).

illustrations of the birds. This practice of employing Indian artists was continued under Wallich's successors, and when J. D. Hooker wrote his treatise on orchids in 1895, there were almost 7,000 paintings in the Calcutta Herbarium.[1]

The Company recognized the importance of India's fauna by opening a full-scale zoo at Barrackpore in 1804. This step was largely due to Francis Buchanan who, while a surgeon to the Company, had early made a reputation as a scholar in natural history. In 1794, when visiting Ava, the Andamans, and Pegu, he had made a botanical collection, and while at Baruipur in the Twentyfour Parganas district from 1798 to 1800, he had busily studied the Ganges fishes and supervised the drawing of them. 'I have given my old painter a gold mohur a month', he wrote, 'and have him employed on fishes. I am attempting to make him do the outlines with some degree of accuracy; when he succeeds in that I shall begin to colour.' The success of Buchanan's amateur surveys was so impressive that a little later he was put on special duty and sent first to Mysore and then to Nepal.[2] On his return in 1803, the need for further surveys had become so clear that he was then attached to Lord Wellesley's staff as Surgeon to the Governor-General and entrusted with the founding of the new menagerie. This appointment was part of a much grander scheme: Buchanan, according to a Minute of 26 July 1804, was 'to collect materials for a correct account of all the most remarkable quadrupeds and birds in the provinces subject to the British Government in India'. The civil and military officers in Bengal received a circular enjoining them to assist in procuring suitable specimens. Similar orders were also issued to Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements. The Barrackpore Menagerie was then established 'where the quadrupeds and birds which may be collected for Dr. Buchanan will be kept until they have been described and drawn with that degree of attention to minute distinctions, which is essentially necessary for the purposes of the natural historian'.[3] Funds were then allotted and the accounts show that Rs 500 was spent each year on the general upkeep of birds and animals, Rs 300 on their collection, Rs 100 on the artists engaged in drawing

[1] J. D. Hooker, 'A Century of Indian Orchids', *Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta*, v, part i, 1905. Indian artists are still employed in botanical drawing at the Forest Research Insistute at Dehra Dun. In a publication of 1921 there is a picture by one Gunga Singh.

[2] See D. Prain, 'A Sketch of the Life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan)', *Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta*, x, part ii, 1905. See also Note XXII, pp. 120–1.

[3] Martin, *Despatches*, iv. 675.

them, and finally Rs 60 on paints, brushes, and the artists' stationery. A large collection of paintings resulted, some of which are signed by the same Haludar who had been trained by Roxburgh. From 1806 to 1815 Buchanan was deputed to survey the interior. Artists went with him and in this way there were gradually amassed a vast series of paintings. They illustrated the flowers, birds, animals, fishes, and minerals of Rangpur, Lower Assam, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Patna, Shahabad, Allahabad, Agra, and Gorakhpur. The activity ceased with Buchanan's retirement, but the paintings were later to provide important materials for scientific research.[1]

[1] See Note XXIII, pp. 121–3.

II

THE CAUSES OF DECLINE

On 1 November 1858 the Honourable East India Company ceased to be a ruling power. During its long career it had undergone many changes, and of these the most important was its gradual transformation into a body which governed almost the whole of India. Such a role could hardly have been sustained indefinitely by a trading company, and in at last replacing it by a formal government responsible to the Crown, the authorities in England were merely giving effect to the long series of social adjustments which had altered not only the Company but the whole outlook of the British in India.

These changes inevitably affected indigenous painting and the difference between the two epochs can be shortly expressed. Under the Company the initiative in questions of art had lain with individuals. Under the Government of India it rapidly became an official responsibility. The art of Indian painters as adjusted to British conceptions is the typical expression of the first, the Art School a symptom of the second. In such circumstances, when the Company itself was being ousted from power, it is not surprising that Indian-British painting should also suffer eclipse. The factors responsible are to a great extent the same, but some of them are of special significance for Indian art.

The conversion of the Company into the Government of India was due to the emergence of what we may call the Victorian conscience. In contrast to men and women of the eighteenth century, who had often regarded society with complacent satisfaction and had found in Nature a host of objects to delight the senses and exercise the mind, the Victorians tended to regard the outside scene in largely ethical terms. A belief in progress was only one corollary to this attitude, for the technical changes arising from the Industrial Revolution fostered an even wider concept—the perfectibility of Man. Side by side, therefore, with a restless urge to improvement went a belief in its ethical necessity, and since a

toleration of other values in other lands would have dammed the urge at its source, it expressed itself in a new conception of efficiency and a determination to impose more thoroughly British standards of conduct. There is consequently a new spirit discernible in the British in India after about 1830, and although its manifestations are many-sided one of its first signs is a gradual hardening towards Indian religions.

In the earlier residents, picturesque festivals such as Muharram and Durga puja had excited lively curiosity rather than scorn or aversion. To many later arrivals, influenced by the Evangelical movement, these spectacles were sin. The Hindu was no longer idealized as a 'noble savage', gentle, simple, and serene. Mrs. Fay's remark in 1780, 'There is something in the mild countenances and gentle manners of the Hindoos that interests me exceedingly',[1] was a thing of the past. To Mrs. Sherwood in 1806 he was now a pagan with an 'abominable creed', practising 'revolting superstitions'.[2] Mrs. Sherwood was admittedly before her time, but after 1858 these were common enough opinions and as late as 1900 a person as brilliant as Anne Beveridge was blinded to many fine qualities in Indians by her revulsion from their treatment of women.[3]

This same sense of moral depravity, present in everything they saw, led to the cold aloofness with which the British now came to regard the Indian scene. The 'psychology of rule' explains much of this attitude, but the basic causes were the Victorian assumption of ethical superiority and the deep moral earnestness that accompanied it. Such an assumption strikes us nowadays as inhuman and insensitive—a negation of all that we would normally regard as kindly or Christ-like—the negation even of the Victorians' own moral precepts. Yet its prevalence is attested by more than one observer. William Tayler, watching the widening of the gulf, commented in the middle of the century:

> Separated as we necessarily are from the millions around us, by our habits and ideas, we are still further, and without the same necessity, isolated from their hearts by the utter absence of all individual feeling or sympathy. The great mass see or hear of functionary after functionary coming and going, and holding the destinies of the people in the hollow of their hands, but they seldom, perhaps never, know what it is to feel that the minds of their rulers have ever been directed to understand or

[1] Fay, *Letters*, 162–3.
[2] Darton, *The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood*, 280.
[3] See W. H. Beveridge, *India Called Them* (London, 1947).

sympathise with the great heart that is beating around them. The result is an utter absence of those ties between the governors and the governed, that unbought loyalty which is the strength of kings, and which, with all his faults, the Native of India is well capable of feeling.[1]

Similar evidence is provided by the novel, *Oakfield*, published in 1853 by W. D. Arnold, brother of Matthew.

> Look at us here, on board this steamer, and there at those multitudes, engaged in their harsh-sounding, unpleasing, but animated devotion, and you will see the problem we were speaking of the other day, stated broadly enough. What an inconceivable separation there apparently and actually is between us few English silently making a servant of the Ganges with our steam engines and paddle-floats, and those Asiatics, with shouts and screams worshipping the same river: the separation, I say, is obvious and quite tremendous. Is there any common ground underneath it?[2]

Such a separation obvious enough to the speaker would have been inconceivable to the D'Oylys, Twinings, and Forbes of less than half a century earlier.

But perhaps of even greater consequence for painting were the changes which had gradually taken place in the British conception of art and its function in education. At the end of the eighteenth century—the time when Indian artists began to paint for the British—the exploration of the picturesque was unquestioningly accepted as a primary purpose of art. By 1858 all this had changed. Ruskin was at the height of his influence and the extent to which moral and ethical conceptions had infected painting can be judged from a few quotations. 'I am not engaged in selfish cultivation of critical acumen', Ruskin had written in 1844. 'Consider whether the years . . . could be, on the whole, much better employed . . . than in exhibiting the perfection, desirableness and instructiveness of all features, small or great, of external nature, and directing the public to expect and the artist to intend, an earnest and elevating *moral* influence in all that they admire and achieve.'[3] His leading doctrines, as summarized by R. H. Wilenski, are a natural development from this position. 'Great works of art are aspects of God. The greatest art is that which conveys . . . by any means whatsoever, the greatest number of the greatest ideas. The greatest artist is the man

[1] Quoted J. W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857–8* (London, 1865–80), iii. 69.
[2] W. D. Arnold ('Punjabee'), *Oakfield* (London, 1853), i. 194.
[3] Quoted R. H. Wilenski, *John Ruskin* (London, 1933), 204–5.

who has embodied, in the sum of his works, the greatest number of the greatest ideas.' The corollary is expressed with even greater vehemence in *Modern Painters*, volume ii, part iii, where Ruskin declares: 'No supreme power of art can be attained by impious men.'[1] Such views were by no means aberrations, for long before the Pre-Raphaelites had begun in 1849 to identify painting with a high seriousness of the spirit, the Committee of Fine Arts, set up to consider what kinds of painting should decorate the new Houses of Parliament, had adopted an equally moral theory. They decided in 1841 that the paintings for both houses should depict 'History', giving as their reasons three considerations. History, they said, illustrated Britain's achievements in 'the nobler activities of mankind'. It was 'a series of moral lessons for posterity to mark and digest'. And finally it revealed 'the series of material benefits which had accumulated to the advantage of the present'.[2]

One last quotation will illustrate how all-pervading was this general theory of art.

> My aim in all my pictures [wrote Etty] has been to paint some great moral on the heart, the beauty of mercy, patriotism and valour. As a worshipper of beauty, whether it be in a weed, a flower or in that most interesting form of humanity, lovely women, in intense admiration of it and its Almighty Author, if at any time I have forgotten the boundary lines that I ought not to have passed, and tended to voluptuousness, I implore His pardon; I have never wished to seduce others from that path and practice of virtue which alone tends to happiness here and hereafter; and if in any of my pictures an immoral sentiment has been aimed at, I consent it should be burnt.[3]

This conception of the artist—as an interpreter of ethical purposes, as a moralist—was bound to have widespread consequences and one of the first was the assumption that painting and drawing must now be treated as a rarefied profession. Unlike the earlier residents who had regarded proficiency with the pencil as a mark of culture, the efficient 'competition-wallahs' who now came to India no longer numbered painting amongst their accomplishments. It was now considered unmanly to sketch and at the reformed public schools from which they came, more virile pastimes were encouraged. Indeed it is symptomatic of the change that whereas the Company's first training school, at Hertford, had in-

[1] R. H. Wilenski, op. cit. 208, 211. [2] J. Steegman, *Consort of Taste* (London, 1950), 132.
[3] F. Watson, *Art Lies Bleeding* (London, 1939), 124.

cluded water-colour drawing in the syllabus, its successor, Haileybury, banished it altogether from the curriculum. It is true that the art of sketching did not completely vanish and as late as 1875, Laurie in his *Sketches of Some Distinguished Anglo-Indians*, remarks,

> As to drawing and painting, even with moderate talent, there is no recreation more pleasant to an Anglo-Indian in the climes of the sun. Time can never hang heavily on his hands; and even excessive heat vanishes before the bewitching art of Turner, Landseer and Millais. . . . We have met artists—lady and gentleman—frequently in India; and strange to say, they have always seemed more happy and contented than other men. Employment, artistic or literary, no doubt, also greatly mitigates nervous disease in Eastern lands.[1]

But there is a touch of nostalgic pleading in this passage for, so far as men were concerned, sketching had virtually stopped. Women, on the other hand, continued, but although Lady Lawrence's recently published *Indian Embers*, illustrated by her own sketches, shows how the practice persisted even into the present century, it had come to be regarded as almost entirely a female fashion—a whimsical hobby rather than a serious pursuit. Of landscape painting as practised by the Daniells, Westall, Fraser, Grindlay, and Barron or even figure studies as exemplified by D'Oyly and Gold, there is not a trace.

This gradual extinction of the amateur artist, caused in the first place by changing views of art, was hastened by the new circumstances of British life in India. Until, at any rate, the eighteen-thirties, Indian landscapes and 'native characters' were not merely instances of the picturesque; they were news. 'As you have a turn for drawing', wrote Mrs. Lewin to her soldier son in 1826, 'I hope you will send me sketches of the country and natives, of yourself, your Bungalow, your horse, etc.'[2] But as the Indian continent was finally conquered and occupied, it lost much of its novelty. The first excitement in exotic possessions passed and with the spate of books, letters, and journals published in the first forty years of the century, the curiosity of the British public was gradually sated. After 1858 service in India was no longer a glamorous adventure, and families showed less and less interest in 'the manners and customs of the Gentoo'. The long letters home contained far fewer illustrations and as the Industrial

[1] W. F. B. Laurie, *Sketches of Some Distinguished Anglo-Indians* (London, 1875), i. 230.

[2] T. H. Lewin, *The Lewin Letters, 1756–1884* (London, 1909), i. 214.

Revolution speeded ways of travel, the former opportunities for leisurely observation vanished. The opening of the East Indian Railway in 1854 put an end to the slow wanderings in palanquin and budgerow. The traveller now halted at hotels, railway stations, or rest houses instead of camping by the wayside or sharing *sarais*.[1] Grandiose treks from one side of India to another went out of fashion, and thus the isolation to which the Victorians were naturally tending was further accentuated. Compared with fifty years before, there was in 1858 neither the same belief in sketching, nor, what was equally important, the same opportunity.

All this had its effect upon Indian artists. So long as painting had been part of a cultured person's ordinary accomplishments, Indian art itself had not been entirely disregarded. Its character might not secure unqualified approval, but the artist himself had been recognized as at least a social phenomenon. With the decline of amateur sketching, however, there went not merely a loss of interest in artists, but a general weakening in aesthetic perception, a decline in sensibility itself. It was certainly no coincidence that the closing years of the eighteenth century, which marked the hey-day of the amateur artist, saw also the erection of the best Anglo-Indian architecture. After 1858 the decline in the actual practice of art made possible an altogether new acceptance of ugliness which would have been unthinkable in the earlier period. So general was this deterioration that when Val Prinsep visited India in 1876 he was horrified at the results of British administration. The official, he found, had ceased to concern himself with arts and crafts, and in the absence of any aesthetic public opinion the Royal Engineers and the Public Works Department were free to go their unenlightened way. As Prinsep gazed at the durbar dais at Delhi, an iron structure painted red, white, blue, and gold, he reflected, 'Well, perhaps it is a type of the new Raj—this dais—cold, new, flaunting and bare, without a rag of sentiment or beauty.' 'Never was there such Brummagem ornament or more atrocious taste. Everything is designed by the Royal Engineers, and you may fancy what they have done. In another hundred years, unless we can arrest their hands, there will not be a good thing in India. They have nothing to do but employ themselves on Government works, and having no artistic training nor an atom of

[1] *Sarais*: rest houses often built by private charity for travellers—usually taking the form of small cells and covered verandas around a central courtyard.

taste, they spoil everything.' Even when restoring the monuments of India, the Engineers left their mark and Prinsep has the following comments. 'Let us keep up the building and keep out the rain. But for Heaven's sake, O ye higher powers who direct such matters! spare us the decorations of the unartistic and the wild imaginings of the Engineer, which are not only horrible in themselves, but replace the traces, the beautiful traces, of former art.'[1] But the Engineers were not alone in their banal trivialities, for Baden Powell, with all his keen interest in Indian arts and crafts, could solemnly examine the exhibits at the 1864 Lahore Exhibition and pronounce a small railway carriage to be the best model of all.[2]

Factors such as these could not but depress the Indian artist; but further forces still were ruthlessly ousting him from employment. Long before 1858 machine-made goods had begun to pour over India, under-cutting the indigenous worker and seducing the Indian populace with their gaudy finery. And so far had the process gone that even before the conversion of the Company into the Government of India, leading officials had expressed anxiety at the way events were tending. Indeed it was one of the more curious aspects of the Victorian conscience that having in the name of progress perfected industrial methods, it shrank from the consequences when revealed in terms of Indian misery. One result of this quickening of conscience was the decision to revive the art manufactures of India as part of a scheme of economic rehabilitation; another was the foundation of official schools of art. Both schemes, however, were powerless to prevent the spread of European goods, and as a consequence the machine pursued its ruthless way. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that when machine-made methods of taking likenesses were developed, the last blow was dealt at Indian painters. In its early days, John Steegman has pointed out, photography was 'seen as a mechanical form of art or more precisely, drawing'. Faraday, for example, when announcing the discovery in January 1839, referred to it as 'photogenic drawing' and added, 'No human hand has hitherto traced such lines as these drawings display. Nature has become man's drawing mistress.' 'Seven years later, in 1846, the *Quarterly* [*Review*] was still describing photography as an aspect of drawing, and comparing its best examples (such as the still-unrivalled work of David Octavius Hill) with the work of favourite Old Masters. . . . It is clear from this . . .', John Steegman concludes, 'that photography was

[1] Prinsep, *Imperial India*, 21, 51.

[2] Baden Powell, *Handbook*, 252, 353.

not yet realised as a new and revolutionary means of expression, but rather as another means of more fully expressing the same thing'.[1]

This conception of photography gained quick currency in India. The camera reached the continent in the middle of the century and by 1870 it had clearly won the day. When the 'wet-plate' first came to Patna, Rai Sultan Bahadur, a leading gentleman of the city, at once had his portrait taken, thus symbolizing the readiness of the Indian community to adopt the novelty. Similarly at Benares, a 'wet-plate' photographer, Parkinson, proved extremely popular, even numbering amongst his clients one of the painters, Chuni Lal himself. British and Indians alike were fascinated and now, instead of illustrating books with engravings from paintings made either by European amateurs or Indian artists, it became the fashion to use photographs. Volume 53 of the Government's 'Archaeological Remains and Antiquities' is in this respect a turning-point, for it illustrates Indian costume both with pictures by Indian artists and with exercises in the new medium. The importance of the camera in the field of ethnography which was now succeeding the study of 'manners and customs' was also realized. In 1863 and 1866 William Johnson of the Bombay Civil Service produced two volumes of *Oriental Races and Tribes, Residents and Visitors of Bombay*, illustrating them with clear and competent photographs. Dalton's great *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872) was also illustrated with photographs and Uraons and Mundas appear in its pages frozen in the rigid stare of the long exposure. But the most impressive achievement was the appearance in 1868 of *The People of India: a series of Photographic Illustrations with descriptive letterpress of the Races and Tribes of Hindustan*. This volume had full viceregal authority, for, as the editors, Forbes Watson and J. W. Kaye, pointed out,

> During the administration of Lord Canning, from 1856 to 1863, the interest which had been created in Europe by the remarkable development of the Photographic Art, communicated itself to India and originated the desire to turn it to account in the illustration of the topography, architecture and ethnology of the country. There were none, perhaps, in whom this interest was awakened more strongly than in Lord and Lady Canning. It was their wish to carry home with them at the end of their sojourn in India, a collection obtained by private means, of photographic illustrations, which might recall to their memory the peculiarities of Indian life. The great

[1] Steegman, op. cit. 275–6.

convulsion of 1857–58 while it necessarily retarded for a time all scientific and artistic operations imparted a new interest to the country which had been the scene of and to the people who had been the actors in these remarkable events. When, therefore, the pacification of India had been accomplished, the officers of the Indian services, who had made themselves acquainted with the principles and practice of photography encouraged and patronized by the Governor-General, went forth and traversed the land in search of interesting subjects.[1]

Gradually, therefore, photographs replaced the former sets of Indian paintings. In Patna and Delhi, as we have seen, attempts were made to come to terms with the new invention by 'copying photographs' or even tinting actual prints. In the years 1865–80 Delhi seems almost to have specialized in this hybrid form, but it did not last, and soon the photograph established a monopoly. In 1874 Haji Abbas Ali Darogah produced *The Lucknow Album*, a volume of views of places and buildings exactly equivalent to the sets of painted views which had been produced at Delhi. In 1880 he brought out an *Illustrated Historical Album of the Rajas of Oudh*, the counterpart in photographs of the former Raja sets. Finally in Delhi itself 'Baboo Bulaki Dass' issued in 1885 his *Ladies Nosegay, a History of the Royal Family of Delhi*, illustrating the imperial line from Timur to Muhammad Shah with actual photographs of paintings.[2] Such an enterprise was symptomatic and by 1890 Indian painting for the British, save for a few tourist survivals, had ended.

[1] J. F. Watson and J. W. Kaye, *The People of India* (London, 1868–75), Preface.
[2] These three albums are in the I.O.L.

12

CONCLUSION

THE assessment of Indian-British painting is inevitably tinged with disappointment. In England the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were periods of 'good taste'. The aristocracy and middle classes were enthusiastic and enlightened and from their ranks came many of those men and women whose interests determined Indian art. On their side, Indian painters had inherited highly cultured traditions. Yet despite their lively interests, the British, unlike the Mughals, seemed unable to strike that spark which might have kindled a new and vigorous style. However charitably we may regard these pictures of Hook-swingings and processions, of Humayun's tomb and the Taj Mahal, of washermen, grooms, and table-servants, we cannot assign to them great artistic merit. It is the lack of sensibility, the absence of artistic taste, which is their chief characteristic.

The reasons will perhaps be plain when we consider more critically the exact nature of British influence. The sketching of British amateurs, although inspired by a passion amounting almost to mania, was usually a mere mechanical compliance with certain rigid rules. It resulted not from education in art but from instruction in a fashion. No strong artistic tradition sustained it and its very terms of reference—the seizure of the picturesque—precluded the expression of sentiment and feeling. As a consequence, British sketching was often only an exercise in drab prosaic description—'the tame delineation of a given spot'. Here and there the vision was fresh and original. Barron, in his views of the Nilgiris, conveyed through his humped Toda villagers, his great rounded hills, and massed woods a sense of brooding mystery and of naïve but forceful poetry. Similarly James Baillie Fraser completely transcended the ordinary notions of the picturesque in his *Views of Calcutta*, where classical mansions stand poised in massive grace and the moist sky heightens the brilliant verdure of the open spaces. But these were exceptions. The amateur whose work best exemplifies the taste of the

period is not Fraser or Barron but Sir Charles D'Oyly. Hundreds of the British must have praised D'Oyly's work as they passed through Bankipore, scanning the pages of his sketch-books and marvelling at the products of the 'Behar Lithographic Press'. Yet if we regard it as art, we can find no more than a minor skill in drawing, in recording rural settings, in 'capturing likenesses' of trees and people.

The same lack of greatness characterizes most of the professionals who worked in India during the period. Smart and Humphry were admittedly major artists within the European tradition of miniature portraiture. Others, however, were not. Of those who practised landscape, the most famous and influential were the two Daniells. For thirty years their work was in constant vogue. Yet it is nowadays difficult to regard their picturesque vistas with enthusiasm. The lack of sharp tones, the tepid colour, the dull greys and greens, the all-pervasive browns, all these distil a drab and sombre dullness, as if all the exhilarating qualities of India had been extinguished in the dour light of sensible inspection. Even Chinnery, an artist who excelled the Daniells in popular favour, can hardly be adjudged much better. His deft draughtsmanship and power of catching likenesses enraptured his Anglo-Indian sitters, and his skill in landscape won the admiration of a whole army of enthusiastic followers. Yet certain vital qualities are lacking. There is no stimulus to the imagination, no commanding attitude, no emotional implications. With all its dexterity, the work of Chinnery is once again an art obsessed with the banal and prosaic. Of all the professionals Zoffany was perhaps the greatest, yet due to the fact that almost all his work was in oils—a medium which is still not fully acclimatized in India—his art had little influence.

When the British themselves produced so few artists of real power, whether amateur or professional, it is not surprising that the Indian painters whom they patronized should rarely have transcended the mediocre. In the field of miniature portraiture on ivory, certain artists at Patna, Benares, and Delhi came into personal contact with British patrons and acquired a high degree of skill. At Patna Jairam Das, Shiva Lal, and Shiva Dayal Lal produced work notable for its representational finesse. At Benares Dallu Lal was considered eminently skilled and at Delhi Jivan Ram was only the most famous of a whole series of portrait painters on ivory. To their patrons, at least, all these artists gave considerable satisfaction. Yet, beside the work of an artist as great as Smart, their productions are patently inferior; the treatment of the features is harsher and flatter, the brushwork

delicate but insensitive. Judged by Mughal standards, they reveal no trace of that aristocratic glory which gives to earlier Indian portraiture its simple grandeur.

In the sphere of natural history illustrations, the situation is somewhat different. In Europe the purpose of most of these paintings had been frankly scientific—to make an accurate record of a particular plant or animal and to eschew as far as possible the embellishments of art. In certain cases, notably that of Thornton, something different was attempted—the blending of the scientific and the picturesque. Explaining his 'Picturesque Botanical Plates', Thornton wrote in 1799,

> Milton has given us a fine description of the most perfect garden. . . 'a happy seat of various view'. So in our picturesque botanical plates the reader must not expect to see yew trees cut into various forms, long avenues of upright timber, gravel-walks meeting to some circular bason of water. . . . But each scenery is appropriated to the subject. . . . In the Chinese Limodoron, and the Indian Canna, are represented the pagodas of the East. . . . In the maggot-bearing Stapelia you will find represented a green African snake, and a blow-fly in the act of depositing her egges in the flower, with the maggots produced from this cause. . . . In the white Lily, where a dark background was obliged to be introduced to relieve the flower, there is a break, presenting to the view a temple, the only kind of architecture that can be admitted in a garden. . . . As each of these beauties of the vegetable race are carefully dissected, it is hoped, that the rigid botanist will excuse the author, who, striving at universal approbation, has thus endeavoured to unite the 'Utile Dulci'.[1]

But more usually, as in the work of Ehret, Sowerby, and the brothers Bauer, the record was plainly factual—the paintings following closely the precepts of Sir Joseph Banks. When in 1792 Staunton had set out on his Chinese Mission, Banks had provided him with *Hints on the Subject of Gardening*, explaining in detail how botanical drawings should be made and including a sample drawing as a guide. 'A drawing of a plant', he wrote, 'is inscribed in this place to shew the most commodious manner of making sketches to be finished at leisure after the return of the traveller. The upper and under sides of a leaf and flower are finished and the parts of fructification drawn separately in their natural size and magnified.' With the addition that a flowering spray was also to be copied for purposes of identification, these notes may be said to epitomize the aims of botanical illustration.[2] It was an art applied to science, not a science subserving art.

[1] R. J. Thornton, *The Temple of Flora* (London, 1799), 1.
[2] MSS. in the Linnaean Society Library, London.

Such conceptions determined the character of Indian natural history painting. In recording fauna and flora, Indian artists aimed only at careful description. At this particular level their work gave general satisfaction. 'It must be acknowledged', wrote Tennant in 1800, 'that some of our European naturalists have found excellent draughtsmen among the natives, who have executed drawings of many specimens of natural history, with much neatness and accuracy. The laborious exactness with which they imitate every feather of a bird, or the smallest fibre on the leaf of a plant, renders them valuable assistants in this department.'[1] But neatness and accuracy are scientific, not aesthetic, criteria and even at their best, as in the great Impey folios, the strong colour, minute precision, and linear boldness are all a means to scientific ends. Plants, birds, and animals are recorded with frigid detachment and the feeling of delight in the natural world which suffuses Mughal paintings is entirely lacking. If we are to evaluate these drawings correctly, we must regard them as one of the means by which Indian science made its great advances and Indian products were diffused throughout the world. But they are contributions to knowledge rather than to art.

When we turn to 'Indian characters' and festivals, or to the architectural drawings of Delhi, the achievement is complicated by other factors. The painters of miniature portraits and of natural history illustrations were closely supervised by their patrons and as a result their style was British. In the case of 'Indian characters', on the other hand, though certain of the early artists were probably given some preliminary training, the production of sets was a bazaar matter. Pictures were produced not for a particular patron but for a class. The personal interchanges between artist and patron were scanty and as a result not only was execution often slovenly, the style itself was hybrid in character. In certain cases, approximation to British methods is clear enough. In the early phases of Patna painting, the water-colour technique, the predilection for sombre browns, the stress on shading, the blank backgrounds, the tepid colours are all derived from British prints. At Delhi the pale colours favoured in architectural drawings reflect the same source. In the south, particularly in drawings from the Malabar Coast, there is a similar acceptance of British colour ranges. But in other cases it is the persistence of Indian elements which chiefly impresses. In later painting at Patna and Benares the appearance of brilliant blues and scarlets suggests an earlier

[1] Tennant, *Recreations*, i. 299.

Indian palette. At Lucknow diluted shades were continually offset by garish brilliant hues drawn from local painting. At Tanjore the strong blues, greens, and yellows were all reflections of eighteenth-century Deccani traditions. Even when certain idioms were clearly of British origin, their use was often determined by Indian conceptions. Perspective was early adopted yet even in the architectural drawings it is often used in a fashion which is almost naïve, and in Patna and Benares painting it is employed more as part of a geometric composition than with any clear understanding of its purpose. Even such British idioms as the intruding branch of a tree or clouds in pallid skies were often included in Patna pictures as part of a standard prescription, as a mechanical compliance with British requirements, rather than with any sense of their artistic fitness. The upshot therefore was a style which only too frequently was neither British nor Indian in character and as a consequence satisfactory by neither standard.

Yet if these paintings were of small account as art, their effects were none the less significant. Until the British began to practise sketching and to patronize painters, the Indian medium had all along been tempera. Under British influence this was gradually abandoned and though, at first, the influence of water-colour was hardly revolutionary, it led at Kalighat, Calcutta, to the growth of a new kind of bazaar painting. Village artists who owed nothing to direct British influence were inspired by 'native character' and natural history drawings to imitate the new technique.[1] They discovered that larger and bolder effects were possible and that figures of gods and goddesses, men and women, birds, fish, and animals could all be rapidly rendered with single sweeps of the brush. The new technique opened the way to a new market, and with the adoption of the water-colour medium, a new school of popular Bengal art came into existence. Owing to modern industrial influences, this Kalighat school did not last beyond the first quarter of the twentieth century. But it was destined to exert a powerful influence on modern Indian painting. The rhythmical dignity achieved by sweeping line, the evocations of summary form made possible by rapid brush-work were all by-products of the water-colour technique. Elsewhere in India, the influence of Indian-British painting was less direct, but the fact that in the India of today water-colour is now an accepted medium is proof of its diffusion.

More important was the decisive break with traditional subject-matter. Under

[1] See W. G. Archer, *Bazaar Paintings of Calcutta* (London, 1953).

the Mughals the subject-matter of painting had normally been aristocratic. There were exceptions: for a few years Shah Jahan's artist, Bichitr, had experimented with scenes of 'low life' and under Aurangzeb, Bhil aboriginals were often depicted hunting at night. But such departures could hardly affect the prevailing assumption that the prime purpose of painting was to glorify the court. Equally in Rajputana and the Punjab Hills it was aristocratic needs which determined the chief subjects. Under the British all this was changed. At Delhi the fading relics of Mughal power continued to evoke a wistful envy, but elsewhere the old feudal system was outmoded, the class conception of art insensibly faded and in its place quite other conceptions prevailed. In this changed approach to subject the British passion for landscape had little influence and indeed only at Delhi did Indian artists strive half-heartedly to emulate the British example. Their efforts were dim and feeble clichés and even now landscape painting is a genre rarely explored in Indian art. It was rather in the general treatment of people that the major change occurred. Indian-British painting frankly accepted villagers, workers, and servants, village ceremonies and rituals, as proper subjects for art. The original motive was the cult of the picturesque rather than an interest in social questions. But the choice had important implications. In modern Indian painting, it is not the feudal great but the common people who bulk the largest. In contemporary Bengali art, the tribal villagers, the Santals, are portrayed again and again—Jamini Roy reverting continually to their simple dignified forms—while in northern India also, Amrita Sher-Gil chose as subjects the figures of fever-haunted villagers (Fig. 48). We need not claim a direct relation between these instances of modern art and Indian paintings for the British. The importance of the latter lay in their cumulative effect, in diffusing through the bazaars a new kind of subject-matter, in habituating the Indian public to democratic themes. In this respect they were clear precursors of later Indian attitudes, giving to the common people, the peasant and the wage-earner, precisely that importance which political India ascribes to them today. We need not be surprised then that much of modern Indian painting should spring from an exactly similar realization. But the vindication of a proletarian subject-matter was far from being all, for in the process an emotional attitude to labour was also expressed. If we ask why the modern art of Amrita Sher-Gil moves us so intensely the answer is that besides portraying the physical appearance of her subjects, she

also transmits their tragic dignity. The same applies to Jamini Roy, for in his paintings of Santals there is a similar appreciation of bold resilience and indifference to hardship. Such a view-point strikes us as peculiarly modern, yet it is in Indian paintings for the British that it first obtains expression. The early Patna artist, Sewak Ram, was not as technically competent as his descendant, Shiva Lal; yet his very roughness of manner was unconsciously a means to new expression. Ostensibly mere samples of the picturesque, his gaunt and haggard figures, pursuing with iron-like devotion their traditional tasks, have an inherent dignity. And a similar response to poverty characterizes the chief artist of the Malabar Coast. His village figures, caught in lightly-flowing rhythmical lines, have the same air of tragic solemnity, of impassive resignation to a world of daily toil. Whatever value we may set on individual pictures, the expression of this attitude was the most significant contribution made to Indian art by painters for the British.

NOTES

NOTE I. Capt. Basil Hall, the captain of an East Indiaman, visited India from time to time between 1812 and 1817. He had an eye for the picturesque and revelled in new scenes. He was mildly interested in archaeology and antiquities and managed to combine visits to the Elephanta Caves with alligator hunts and picnics. His portrait in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, shows a cheerful, rubicund gentleman who had enjoyed life to the full.

NOTE II. Other 'Patna' paintings are listed by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part VI, Mughal Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), 80 ff., where he remarks, 'The following items are all either certainly or probably from Patna and, though often embodying Rajput features, are best classified as late Mughal. . . . A majority of these were originally in the A. N. Tagore Collection.' It is doubtful, however, whether many of these items are examples of Patna painting either Mughal or Indian-British. Tagore had obtained most of them from Ishwari Prasad, a descendant of Indian-British artists at Patna, but the latter was also a collector and amateur dealer—his son having been employed by P. C. Manuk to tour India in search of paintings. Many pictures in his collection were thus almost certainly from other parts of India.

NOTE III. A certain mystery attaches to the artist 'Lallji'. According to one tradition current in Benares, a painter of this name had been attached to the suite of Prince Jairam Bakht, the eldest son of Shah Alam, who at Cornwallis's instigation lived in retirement in the Company's dominions at Benares and died there in 1788. This 'Lallji' is believed to have worked for a time for Mahip Narain, Raja of Benares (1781–95). His style, however, according to Rai Krishna Das, was 'decadent Mughal', whereas Heber's 'Lallji' evidently practised the European technique. It would seem therefore that two artists of this name may be in question. If there was only one 'Lallji', it must be assumed that after the death of the Raja of Benares, he moved to Patna, sought work there, and along with other Patna artists acquired the British manner.

NOTE IV. The same artist who executed Buchanan's 'Costumes of Bihar' is probably responsible for a set of 12 Patna paintings, which were presented to George IV when Prince of Wales and are now in the library of H.M. the Queen at Windsor (B.25). These pictures are mounted on paper with an 1812 watermark and consist of *firka* and bird paintings. The familiar compositions of a woman grinding and of a seller of cow-dung cakes, which were constantly repeated at Patna, are to be found here as well as a variety of other occupations such as that of a prawn-seller. The style is in general identical.

NOTE V. In the *Behar Lithographic Scrapbooks* a number of the lithographs are made by D'Oyly from sketches by his wife, Lady Eliza D'Oyly, Chinnery, Hodgson, and Dr. Paterson Hill. In I.O.L. Lithography Collection, W.35, vol. ii, are pictures of pets. In 'Cockatoo enjoying a Nautch', Lady D'Oyly's pet bird sits smoking a hookah, a maina acts as hookah-burdah, while a number of scrawny birds, the nautch-girls, dance to the music of an owl puffing on a trumpet. Another lithograph shows 'Cockatoo Throwing Off', where the bird in riding boots and cap, mounted on a dog, vigorously pursues a jackal.

NOTE VI. Following the collapse of patronage after 1880, the Patna artists were gradually forced to find work elsewhere. Many became designers for business firms. Kanhai Lal went to Calcutta to work for Kettlewell, Bullen and Co. Gopal Lal joined the Bow Bazaar Art Studio, Jaigovind worked for Rai Bahadur Badri Das Mokim, the Governor's court jeweller in Calcutta. Bahadur Lal II, after the death of his patron Rai Sultan Bahadur in 1891, became a designer for Kar Tarakh and Co. along with Gur Sahay Lal. Others became tracers and draughtsmen in government departments, Bahadur Lal I going to Allahabad while his cousin Bani Lal became a draughtsman in the Arrah Canal Department. The years 1880 to 1890 cover this period of collapse.

The only descendant of the Patna painters who remained an artist was Ishwari Prasad (1870–1950), the son of Shiva Lal's daughter, Sona Kumari, who through a series of academic appointments was enabled to go on painting throughout the first half of the twentieth century. He had been taught first by Shiva Lal and then by Bani Lal. Ishwari's father, another Fakir Chand Lal and relation of Shiva Dayal Lal, was a supervisor in a military department and was descended from a Subedar Bahadur in the East India Company Sappers from Allahabad. As a young man Ishwari was the retained artist of Raja Lachman Das Seth of Mathura. In 1904, through the help of Havell, he became Professor of Fine Arts and Indian Painting at the School of Art, Calcutta, and for a time officiated as Vice-Principal. His appointment was part of Havell's attempt to revive traditional Indian painting. He supplemented his income by collecting paintings for P. C. Manuk, the great Patna collector, and by repairing pictures for him and making decorative mounts. As a teacher he acquired a variety of styles and must have influenced many of the younger painters of Bengal by his technical accomplishment. In his retirement at Arrah he again reverted to the style of the Patna painters (illustrated, Archer, *Patna Painting*, Pl. 47).

For an offshoot of Patna painting—the work of Mahadev Lal (*c.* 1860–1942), who was patronized by Rai Durga Prasad of Patna City—see Archer, op. cit. 32–33, Pls. 45 and 46. Although he painted Hindu mythological subjects, his style was that of other Patna painters.

NOTE VII. Prinsep's original drawings were in most cases engraved in London by Hughe. Certain drawings, however, were engraved in Calcutta—an Indian craftsman, Kashinath, being employed for the purpose. Commenting on Pl. V, a picture of 'Boorwa Mungul', Prinsep says, 'This plate is imperfect as compared with others of the series, being executed in outline only; but the state of the arts in Calcutta would not allow an attempt at shading, and Indian lithography could not be brought into contact with the specimens of that delightful art from the skilful hand of Mr. Hughe of London.' In the notes to Pl. I of 'Ghoosea Ghat', he writes, 'Some indulgence is solicited for this and the other outline engravings given in the present series: they have been executed by a Native, who has much to learn in perfection, both aerial and linear; in other respects the plates are creditable enough to the progress of the Arts in Calcutta.'

NOTE VIII. The Indian Institute, Oxford, possesses a Benares series with watermarks of 1826 and 1832 in which the carrier of Holy Water, the *abdar* and the *mali* are identical in composition with their Patna counterparts. Similar series are in the Victoria and Albert Museum

(Indian Section, 8042.1–43) with watermarks of 1826 and in the I.O.L. (ALR 2D Gourlay) with watermarks of 1827, 1828, and 1830. A further set in the Patna Museum (No. 958) which was identified as Benares work by Ishwari Prasad, is bound up in a book with the year 1825 engraved on the spine. Others are owned by Mr. Radha Mohan of Patna and were originally acquired from Mahadev Lal.

NOTE IX. The vogue for Benares 'Talcs' extended far beyond Benares itself—the mica figures referred to in letters of the period from Bengal being very probably Benares ones. Emily Eden writes in a letter of 22 Aug. 1836: 'There are also in the large packing-box some talc figures, which came to George amongst some other goods he bought, and he thought they might amuse your children. I think there is a set of the Government House servants among them; but I am not quite sure as we have had so many of these talc figures brought us that I do not know which is gone where.' (*Letters*, i. 229.) Similarly the mica figures to which Mrs. John Pringle refers in her letter of June 1830 were probably Benares ones that had found their way to Jessore. (See *Bengal Past and Present*, iv, July–Dec. 1909, 481.)

NOTE X. The sons of Kamalpati, the Benares artist, were born late in his life and after his death it was some years before they could revive the family's commercial status. The brothers gradually reached an efficient division of labour, specializing in *firka* sets not only on paper, but also on mica, and selling them in large quantities to the tourist traffic on the Ganges. The chief artist on paper was Chuni Lal, who continued to produce *firka* sets similar to those of his father. His son, Ramanand (1860–1905), followed the same trade. Chuni Lal's brother, Muni, ran the shop and did mica paintings, while the third brother, Bihari, who also occasionally produced mica sets, 'travelled' in the paintings, hawking them round the neighbouring European settlements. From 1850 onwards these sets were sold not only in Benares, Patna, and Calcutta, but also in London.

Ganesh and Mahesh Prasad also received patronage from various Benares gentlemen, for whom they made large oil paintings. Mahesh worked for the Raja of Hathwa, who had a house in Benares and for the Maharaja of Vizianagram of Karamanikpur, who had bought large estates in Benares. Ganesh also worked for B. Devkinandan of Ainapur.

Misri Lal and his brother specialized in sets of servants on paper. So successful was Misri Lal that he was able to visit an international exhibition at Paris.

Mulchand, so his descendants recall, had been taught oil painting by 'Kittoe Sahib'. In 1853 the old Sanskrit College and English School were amalgamated as Queen's College in new buildings which had been built between 1847 and 1852 by Major Kittoe. He was the Government Archaeologist and had made excavations at Sarnath as well as published a book, *Illustrations of Indian Architecture from the Muhammadan Conquest downwards* in 1838. It is not unlikely that Mulchand had been engaged as a draughtsman in Kittoe's Benares Office and had thus come into friendly contact with the architect who gave him some instruction in the western technique. Mulchand's son, Ram Prasad, also followed his father's trade and his grandson, Sardar Prasad, acted as a copier for Rai Krishna Das.

NOTE XI. Among paintings of a larkspur, a yellow flag, a white lily, and a narcissus, is a delicate mauve flower inscribed, 'Presented to the Maharaja by Md Ahsan Ali on the Dasmi

festival in 1876'. A set of three bulbs is inscribed, 'These dry narcissus bulbs were painted in Kartik 1877 belonging to Dr. Hooper Sahib'. Eight chrysanthemums in red, white, and yellow bear the note, 'In the year 1879 on Wednesday the 12th of Aghan, Harish Chandra [the poet] brought flowers. They were painted. All are chrysanthemums.' Another study of mangoes bears the inscription, '1881. These mangoes came from Shiva Prasad.' Finally among other flower studies is a white hyacinth with the note, '1884. From the Nadesar garden house.' This house, formerly occupied by the British and the scene of Davis's desperate encounter with Wazir Ali, had become the property of the Raja of Benares in 1799.

NOTE XII. Examples of late mica sets abound. At the Indian Institute, Oxford, are three sets of trades, servants, and jugglers collected by Monier Williams during his visit to India in 1873. An album in the I.O.L. (R.R. Case 1.39) contains a wide range of sets—trades, festivals, Muharram figures, nautch, transport. At the Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section) are similar sets (e.g. 4675, 4676, 4677; as well as a set collected by A. J. Lawrence at Benares, 4656).

NOTE XIII. Most of Gentil's collection is in the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale: 'Abrégé historique des Souverains de l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol, 1772' (Français 24.219). 'Histoire des pièces de monnoyes qui ont été frappées dans l'Indoustan, tirée de plusieurs historiens du pays, à Faisabad, 1773' (Français 25.287). 'Divinités des Indoustans tirées des pourans ou livres historiques en samscretam, à Faisabad, 1774' (Français 24.220). 'Histoire des radjahs de l'Indoustan depuis Barh jusqu'à Petaurah à Faisabad, 1774' (Od. 36). Albums of miniatures such as Od. 36, 39, 43, 44, 49, 50, 51, 52.

NOTE XIV. Part of Polier's collection is in the British Museum. It was bought by Beckford after Polier had been murdered at Avignon in 1794. Forty-two Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit MSS. went to the Bibliothèque Nationale and 120 Oriental works to the Bibliothèque Cantonale, Lausanne. Other portions of his library were acquired in 1788 by Edward Pote, a Company Servant in Patna, and have been divided between Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Polier patronized, amongst others, the artist Mir Chand, who painted many pictures for him in Mughal style. A copy of Titian's 'Venus' is amongst these paintings. Warren Hastings referred to Polier's 'Moracka of fine Oriental writings'. (S. C. Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* (Edinburgh, 1905), 295.)

NOTE XV. J. D. Milner in his excellent article 'Tilly Kettle, 1735–1789', *The Walpole Society*, XV, 1926–7, 47–103, gives a list of *seven* pictures made by Kettle for Shuja-ud-daula at Faizabad. He satisfactorily accounts for five, but surmises that the remaining two were (i) a picture of the Nawab and seven of his sons, and (ii) a picture of the Nawab with nine sons and a Minister of State. Although both have disappeared, Milner continues, the first was mentioned by Gentil in his memoirs and the second was published by Renault as an aquatint in 1796. We suggest that there was one picture, not two, that it represented the Nawab with *ten* sons, and that it was the original both of the aquatint and of a miniature copy now in the Louvre Collection (Musée Guimet, No. 35571). The aquatint (repr. *Journal of Indian Art*, XII, Pl. 164) shows ten sons, not nine, for the stout bejewelled figure on the Nawab's right, who might be mistaken for a Minister, is his eldest son Asaf-ud-daula.

As to Gentil's account, it is true that he speaks of a picture of the Nawab 'avec sept de ses enfants', but he wrote his memoirs after a lapse of some years and might well have forgotten how many of the Nawab's fifty-two children were portrayed in it. He says that an Indian artist made a miniature copy of that picture for him and that he gave the copy to the French king. The miniature copy in the Louvre Collection, Musée Guimet, however, shows the Nawab not with seven but with ten sons; it is obviously modelled on the same original as is the aquatint and bears an inscription stating that it was made by Nevasi Lal of Faizabad. How else can we explain its presence in the Louvre Collection if it is not the copy that Gentil brought? I. Stchoukine (*Miniatures Indiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1929), Cat. No. 116, 73–74) calls it a portrait of Shuja-ud-daula with nine sons and a Minister of State, but he is probably following Milner.

NOTE XVI. Beechey and Home may have been the painters of some of the 'eight very large and interesting pictures of the Kings of Oudh' which Lady Dufferin saw standing on the floor up against the wall at Lucknow.

English artists had undoubtedly to pander to the tastes of their patrons. Sir William Howard Russell told J. J. Cotton in 1909 that when the British soldiers broke into the Kaiser Bagh during the Mutiny, they destroyed a number of 'pictures of nude voluptuous Indian females'. One portrait of a court beauty by Beechey, Russell himself secured and still had in his house.

That Beechey was a competent artist is suggested by a note of Emily Eden's. 'Mr Beechey, the painter at Lucknow', she wrote in Feb. 1840, 'sent me today a miniature of G. [Lord Auckland], done by a native from his picture. It is a shocking caricature, but a very little would make it like. I can make the alteration myself; and if I can get it smoothed up at Calcutta I will send it home, and the girls can hang up "the devoted creature" in their room. Mr Beechey says he has sent me the original sketch in oils to Calcutta. It was an excellent picture and I hope he has not touched it since.' (*Up the Country*, 387.)

NOTE XVII. Architectural views were probably produced in hundreds. Lady Nugent, when visiting Delhi in 1812, wrote: 'I mean to have drawings of everything—the beautiful Taje in particular' (*Journal*, i. 364). Fanny Parks also acquired a collection in Delhi, some being bought from an Indian artist at Agra, 'Luteef'. 'Luteef's drawings of the Taj and of all the ancient monuments around Agra are excellent; they cost from three to forty rupees each. I bought a large collection of them' (op. cit. i. 418).

NOTE XVIII. Many other artists were working in Delhi. According to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (*Athar-al-Sanadid*, Delhi, 1847) the following were well known: Ghulam Ali Khan; his brother, Faid Ali Khan; Mirza Shah Rukh Beg; and Muhammad Alam. An Urdu book published about 1870 mentions Mazar Ali Khan, Shahi Rukh Beg, Muhammad Ibrahim, Fateh Ali Khan, Mahmud Ali Khan, Kamruddin, and Khari Muhammad Yusuf. The book was compiled by Hakim Asan Ullah Khan, the ex-vizier of Bahadur Shah, at the request of Queen Victoria who wanted to know the names of painters who were still active and descended from the old court painters.

NOTE XIX. 'Md Husain Khan', wrote F. S. Growse of the Civil Service in 1884, 'has

executed for me 3 miniatures on ivory of views in Bulandshehr. They were done neatly and correctly and evidenced considerable taste in grouping and the management of the lights and shades.' E. M. Wiltshire of the '73rd Regiment, Lucknow' writes in 1878 about a miniature on ivory. 'The portrait is most satisfactory especially as he only had a photo to copy from. He is very painstaking and always willing to make any alterations needed.' Mrs. Parker at Landour in 1903 was very pleased with a miniature of her little boy and Mrs. Lawrence with a picture of her dog. I. Roschen at the Northbrook Hotel in Delhi in 1880 'made bargain with several painters and I found him as the cheapest and best among them.' At this time a miniature usually cost about fifty rupees and would be delivered in about a month after the order was given.

NOTE XX. When E. B. Havell made his survey of Arts and Industries in Madras Presidency, 1885–8, he noted paintings on mica and ivory as being still produced for the British at Trichinopoly. Paintings similar to those produced for the British at Tanjore and Trichinopoly were also produced for the French at Karikal—a number of these paintings being in the Bibliothèque Nationale. One volume (O.D. 32), 'Asie Orientale: costumes et mœurs', includes a picture of the 'Pagode de Trvalour au Tanjaour', as well as a number of pencil and ink sketches of Deities. Three other volumes, bearing the date 1831 (Indien, 743, 744, 746) show festivals and costume in a style very similar to that of Trichinopoly.

NOTE XXI. It is possible that these artists were descendants of those patronized by the provincial Mughal court at Patna. A few other up-country painters had also migrated to Calcutta and were struggling to earn a livelihood. Emily Eden (*Letters*, ii. 169) describes one of them: 'We had often observed in our drives to Ballygunge a little native straw hut, a wigwamy looking thing, with a few cocoa-trees, and over the door a board with "Peer Bux, miniature painter", written on it, and George and I used to wonder what Peer Bux's notions of miniatures could be in that little windowless hut. It was close by the bodyguard barracks, and since we came back one of the officers of the bodyguard went in and sat to Peer Bux, who made out a very good likeness of him—rather stiff, but beautifully finished—and now he has done another of Captain Hill, which, with a few suggestions of perspective, etc, is so good that I thought he might be allowed to make a copy of you on ivory; so yesterday he carried you off. . . .'

Another such artist was S. Mahomed Amir, who lived at Karraya in the suburbs of Calcutta. He painted *firka* sets and marketed them in the city. The sets are water-marked 1840 and 1845, and Pls. 5, 8, 15, and 16 in vol. i of Fanny Parks's *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* are free copies of these pictures or their prototypes.

NOTE XXII. While engaged in the survey of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar from 1800 to 1801, Buchanan wrote in May to Roxburgh from Seringapatam, complaining that 'nothing can be barer than this place. On my last day's march of 15 miles, I hardly saw a bush large enough to make a broom. I have therefore little employment for my painter. On the road I got hardly anything completed by him. A most beautiful *Stapelia*, very different from your *ascendens*, is the most valuable of his performances.' Oddly enough this painting by an

Indian artist soon found its way into an English book, for the picture was sent to Sir J. E. Smith who used it in his *Exotic Botany*. On the expedition to Nepal from 1801 to 1803 a painter again accompanied Buchanan and also a Calcutta Brahmin, B. Ramajai Bhattacharji, to whom Buchanan later wrote very affectionately.

NOTE XXIII. Unfortunately the Buchanan drawings have not contributed as much to scientific research as they might have done, for in the course of an unfortunate career they have become sadly scattered. Those made during Buchanan's early years in India—from Ava, Chittagong, Baruipur, Nepal, and Mysore—were sent to Sir Joseph Banks and Sir J. E. Smith and did not receive either the use or the publicity which they deserved. These have now found their way to the British Museum (Natural History) and the Linnaean Society, London.

The Barrackpore and later Survey paintings have also been scattered, for they were the cause of a bitter quarrel between Buchanan and the Earl of Moira. Certain of the Barrackpore drawings were brought to England and given to the Court of Directors by Buchanan when he went on leave with Wellesley in 1805. He intended when he finally retired in 1815 to give all the remaining drawings to the Court of Directors. They were packed and Buchanan about to sail when the Earl of Moira suddenly ordered him to leave them in India, holding that since they were the property of the E.I. Company and formed an integral part of the statistical surveys, they must be kept with them in Calcutta. 'I am particularly informed', he wrote in Jan. 1815, 'that the descriptions given by Dr. Buchanan in his written account of the specimens examined by him are so vague and indistinct as to be absolutely useless without the aid of the drawings to which they refer. . . . They must be methodized on the spot by persons sufficiently conversant with this country to avoid error in fashioning them into form.' The Earl planned to have the drawings copied and then sent to England later.

Buchanan on his side replied that he had no desire to get personal kudos or to rob the Company of the paintings. He considered that in London they would be more easily available to the learned and he himself could continue to work on them during his retirement and prepare the scientific descriptions which should accompany them. He wrote brokenheartedly: 'While, however, I am deprived of that access to the drawings and of the means of elucidating my descriptions by their use, which I would have enjoyed had they been deposited in the Honourable Company's collection, I shall probably be altogether deterred from wasting my little remaining time on the labour of descriptions, always imperfect without the elucidation of engravings.' The paintings illustrative of the surveys were already bound up with them and the drawings Buchanan was taking to England were zoological, botanical, and ornithological, all of which he had hoped to publish separately with their descriptions. He concludes: 'By this ill judged act of authority unworthy of this nobleman's character, the drawings will probably be totally lost to the public. To me as an individual they were of no value, as I preserve no collection, and as I have no occasion to convert them into money.'

In the upshot Buchanan's fear has proved to be only too well founded. The paintings have been most difficult to trace and through the frequent changes of naturalists in India they

have become so muddled that it is almost impossible either to sort and date them or to know which are the originals and which copies. Prain has done his best to order them. He shows how Wallich gave a receipt on 26 Feb. 1814 for 144 drawings of fishes, 232 of birds, 20 of animals, 138 plant drawings, 147 birds at Barrackpore, 38 drawings of other animals, and 27 unfinished drawings. Hare, Wallich's successor, was requested in 1816 to return the pictures to the Court of Directors, but asked for permission to have them copied first. Whether this was ever done and whether they were returned is not known, but the fact that the India Office received a number of paintings in 1817 and 1819 suggests that some at least were returned. The existence of a number of copies at the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta also suggests that some were made. Nevertheless Buchanan himself was unaware in 1821 that any of his paintings had arrived and as late as 1833 McClelland was using paintings at the Botanic Gardens in Calcutta which he believed to be originals. These plant drawings are no longer in Calcutta and they have never been traced.

Of the later Buchanan paintings two collections exist. Four volumes, some of them with copies, were deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1842, and apart from a disastrous evacuation to Benares in 1942, where they were soaked with rain, have been there ever since. They consist of a book of mammals, two books of birds, and one of fishes. The drawings of fishes are mostly copies and those of mammals copies of the Barrackpore drawings. The bird paintings also bear endorsements—such as 'Drawings delivered at the India House, 1806'—which suggest that these also are copies of those paintings taken home by Buchanan himself in 1805.

A second group of paintings, presented to the Directors in 1806, 1817, and 1819, is now in the library of the India Office (European MSS. catalogue, vol. ii, part ii, Nos. 158, 159). They consist of 155 drawings of birds, 36 of mammals, and 19 of reptiles, some of them signed by Haludar. Many of the drawings bear dates, probably referring to the years when they were received in England by the Court of Directors.

Besides the Buchanan drawings, another large collection of natural history paintings in the India Office Library deserves mention. This is known as the 'Wellesley Collection' and bears the inscription: 'See Council Minute dated 16th August 1866. Originally prepared by Order of the Marquess Wellesley when Governor General of India.' These paintings were purchased in 1866 for £50 from a Mr. J. Fletcher, who held that they had been 'prepared under the direction of the Marquess of Wellesley'. There are 27 folio volumes; 6 volumes of birds (Fig. 50), 1 of fishes, 2 of insects, 2 of quadrupeds, and 16 volumes of flowers (Fig. 49).

Although not signed, the pictures were almost certainly made by the same group of artists in Calcutta. The flower-paintings are a copy of the Roxburgh Icones, similar to that at Kew Gardens. Some of the mammals are copies of the Buchanan animals; there is a bear, a white leopard, a wild cat, a squirrel, and a hunting leopard which are identical with some in the Buchanan MSS. Buchanan's pictures are often signed, whereas these are not and this would suggest that Buchanan's are the originals. On the other hand, some of the drawings in the Wellesley collection are earlier than those of Buchanan and are obviously originals. One picture is 'Drawn from life from a Cheeta that was found in the palace of Tippoo

Sultan at Seringapatam, 1799'. A blindfolded hunting lynx is inscribed, 'From life in possession of the Marquess of Wellesley', and below is written, 'This animal was given me by Rajah Mitter Jeet Singh, a Zamindar of Bahar, 1802'. It would appear, therefore, that the Wellesley collection consists partly of original paintings made especially for the Marquess and partly of copies which he probably ordered while he was in Calcutta.

NOTE ON COLLECTIONS

Murshidabad: Indian Museum, Calcutta; Ishwari Prasad collection, Patna; J. C. French collection; Victoria and Albert Museum; Authors' collection.

Patna: Windsor, collection of H.M. the Queen; Balgovind Malaviya collection, Patna; Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares; British Museum; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; Radha Krishna Jalan collection, Patna; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Indian Institute, Oxford; Indian Museum, Calcutta; India Office Library; Ishwari Prasad collection, Patna; Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad; Manilal Nahar collection, Calcutta; Mathura Prasad collection, Patna; Patna Museum; Radha Mohan collection, Patna; Royal Asiatic Society, London; Shyam Bihari Lal collection, Arrah; Victoria and Albert Museum; Authors' collection.

Benares: Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares; British Museum; Indian Institute, Oxford; India Office Library; Maharaja of Benares collection; Patna Museum; Radha Mohan collection, Patna; Victoria and Albert Museum; Authors' collection.

Lucknow: Windsor, collection of H.M. the Queen; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Bodleian Library, Oxford; British Museum; India Office Library; Lucknow Museum; Victoria and Albert Museum; Authors' collection.

Delhi: British Museum; Delhi Fort Museum; India Office Library; Victoria and Albert Museum.

The South: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; British Museum; India Office Library, Victor Sassoon collection; Victoria and Albert Museum; Authors' collection.

Western India: British Museum; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Natural History: Asiatic Society, Calcutta; British Museum, Natural History; Herbarium, Calcutta Botanical Gardens; India Office Library; Herbarium, Kew Gardens; Linnaean Society, London; Radcliffe Science Library, Oxford; Zoological Society, London.

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INDEX

Agra, 16, 19, 66, 98.
— artist in, Latif, 119.
Akbar, 1, 66.
Akbar II, 68.
Alam, Shah, 64, Fig. 34.
Alamgir II, 64, Fig. 33.
Alefounder, John, 12, 17, 128.
Ali, Din (artist), 89, 90, Fig. 40.
Ali, Nawab Muhammad, 74.
Ali, Nawab Saadat (Oudh), 53, 57, 58.
Allahabad, 8, 19, 37, 48, 54, 98.
Allan, A., 8, 73, 126.
Amaravati, 79.
Andamans, 97.
Andrews, Samuel, 10.
Animals, paintings of, 35, 60, 79, 94, 97, 98, 110–12, 122, 123, 133, Figs. 44, 45.
Anjengo, 2, 84.
Archer, Major, 8, 132.
Archer, Mildred, 29, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 116, 125.
Archer, W. G., 112, 125.
Architecture, Anglo-Indian, 104.
— paintings of, 66, 67, 73, 82, 84, 107, 108, 111, 119, Figs. 23, 24,
Arcot, 15.
Arnold, Matthew, 101.
Arnold, W. D., 101, 129.
Arrah, 33, 37, 60.
Art Schools, 17, 18, 99, 105, 116.
Asaf-ud-daula, Nawab (Oudh), 51–53, 56, 59, 60, 63, 64, 78, 88, 119, 136.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 115.
Ashton, Sir Leigh, 23, 125.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 58, 122, 124.
Assam, 98.
Auckland, Lord, 5, 18, 119.
Augusto, Constantino, 17.
Aurangzeb, 1, 66, 75, 76.
Authors' collection, 28, 37, 39, 75, 84, 124, Figs. 5, 6, 15, 26.
Ava, 97, 121.
Aviaries, 24, 39, 92.
Baden-Powell, B. H., 69, 105, 133.
Bahadur, Rai Sultan, vi, 38, 39, 106, 116.
Bailey, John, 14, 53.
Baillie, William, 8, 126.
Ballygunge, 120.
Balu Chak, 20.
Bankipore, 32, 34, 36, 109.
Bankot, 87.
Banks, Sir Joseph, 110, 121.
Barker, Sir Robert, 54, 55.
Baroda, 7.
Barron, Richard, 8, 73, 103, 108, 109, 126, Fig. 1.
Baruipur, 97, 121.
Bassein, 85, 87.
Bauer, the brothers, 110.
Bax, John, 66.
Bazaar paintings, 32, 41, 121, 125.
Bearsted, Viscount, vii, Fig. 12.
Beatty, Sir Chester, vii.
Becher, Augusta, 18, 19, 130.
Beckford, 61, 118.
Beechey, George, 58, 119, 128.
Bellew, Capt., 8, 126, 130.
Benares, 6, 7, 19, 27, 37, 41–45, 60, 82, 83, 86, 106.
— artists of: Bihari Lal, 46, 117; 'Chandji', 30, 41; Chuni Lal, vi, 46, 106, 117; Dallu Lal, vi, 45, 46, 48, 109; Ganesh Prasad, 47, 117; Gopal Chand, 48; Hub Lal, 41; Kamalpati, 46, 117, Figs. 21, 22; Lal Chand, 48; 'Lallji', 30, 48, 115; Mahesh Prasad, 47, 117; Misri Lal, 47, 117; Mulchand, vi, 47, 117; Muni Lal I, 46, 117; Muni Lal II, 47; Phulchand, 46, 47; Ram Prasad, vi, 117; Ramanand, 177; Sardar Prasad, vi, 117; Shiva Ram, 46, 48; Suraj Ram, 48.
— painting in, 41–50, 90, 111, 112, 116, Figs. 27, 28.
Bengal, 5, 12, 13, 19, 20 22, 27, 28, 60, 87, 95, 97.
Bentinck, Lord, 5, 68,
Berhampore, 22–24.
Berlin Museum, 56.
Beveridge, Anne, 100.
Beveridge, W. H., 100, 134.

Bhagalpur, 98.
Bhaskar ivory carvers, 23.
Bhutan, 27.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 59, 75, 118, 120, 124.
Bihar, 2, 23.
Birbhum, 60.
Birds, paintings of, 33–36, 38–40, 60, 79, 82, 83, 93–95, 98, 111, 112, 122, Figs. 46, 47, 50.
Blunt, Ensign, 8.
Bodhgaya, 33.
Bodleian Library, Oxford, 59, 124.
Bombay, 2, 4, 7, 15, 17, 85–87.
Botanic Gardens, Calcutta, 95–97, 122, 124.
— — Kew, 93, 96, 122, 124.
— — Saharanpur, 96.
Brindaban, painting at, 41.
British Museum, vii, 39, 56, 61, 66, 76, 83, 84, 92, 118, 124.
— — (Natural History), 94, 95, 121, 124.
Broach, 87.
Broughton, T. D., 89, 90, 129.
Brown, Percy, vi, 27, 125.
Buchanan, Francis, 31, 32, 97, 98, 115, 120–2, 130, 133, 134.
Butterflies, paintings of, 71, 82, 95.
Buxar, 42.

Calcutta, 5, 8, 15, 18, 19, 22, 32, 37, 49, 50, 57, 85, 86, 94, Fig. 3.
— artists in: Kashinath, 116; Pir Bax, 120; S. Mahomed Amir, 120.
Calicut, 84.
Cambay, 90.
Campbell, Sir Archibald, 17.
Canning, Lord, 106.
Cantonments, 22, 25, 26, 45, 50, 86.
Carnac, Col., Fig. 13.
Carteret, Lady, 89.
Cartier, John, 54.
Castes, paintings of, 25, 80, 82, 83.
Caunter, H., 12.
Cawnpore, 8, 19, 93, 94.
Ceremonies, paintings of, 12, 18, 24, 29, 32.
Ceylon, 3, 11, 18, 97.
Chajju Bagh, 37.
Chandra, Moti, vii.
Chessmen, 23.
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 29, 36, 124, Fig. 17.
Children's games, paintings of, 49.
Chinese painting, 88, 89.
Chinnery, George, 10, 17, 33, 72, 109, 115, 128, 129.
Chittagong, 121.
Chunar, 45, 50.
Claude, 9, 56.
Clayton, M., 12, 128.
Cleland, John, 13.
Clive, Robert, 14, 20, 23.
Colebrooke, Henry, 2.
Colebrooke, R. H., 73, 126.
Combe, William, 9, 125.
Combermere, Lord, 4, 8.
Conveyances, paintings of, 7, 25, 36, 74, Fig. 21.
Coomaraswamy, A. K., 115, 125.
Cormack, Neil, 86.
Cornwallis, Lord, 51, 58, 130.
Coromandel, coast of, 91, 93, 96.
Costume, paintings of, 3, 7, 31, 33, 73, 84, 115.
Cosway, 17.
Cotton, J. J., 58, 119, 128.
Cuddapah, 82.
Cutch, 2, 87–90.
Cuyp, 9.

Dacca, 17, 20, 33, 42.
Dalton, E. T., 106.
Dandapany, T. S., vi, 81.
Daniell, Thomas, 11–13, 29, 66, 72, 88, 103, 109, 126, 128, Fig. 2.
Daniell, William, 11–13, 29, 66, 72, 109, 125, 126, 128, Fig. 2.
Dapuri, 86.
Darjeeling, 94.
Darogah, Haji Abbas Ali, 107.
Darton, F. J. H., 21, 100, 134.
Das, Bulaki, 107.
Das, Rai Krishna, vii, 115, 117, 125.
Dassehra festival, 29.
Davies, C. C., 52.
Deane, Augusta, 6, 27, 57, 132.

Deane, John, 41.
Deccan, 15, 72.
— painting in, 15, 53, 75–77, 112.
Delhi, 6, 20, 64–66, 81, 104, 107, 119.
— artists of, 119; Azim, 68, 69; Ghulam Husain Khan, 69, 71; Ghulam Murtaza Khan, 67; Ismael Khan, 70; Jivan Ram, 67, 68, 109; Muhammad Husain Khan, 71, 120.
— Fort Museum, 67.
— painting in, 64–71, 107, 111, 113, Figs. 23, 24, 33–35.
Devis, Arthur, 10, 12,
Dhuboy, 2.
Dinapore, 28, 37, 45.
Diwali festival, 5, 24.
D'Oyly, Sir Charles, 8, 10, 17, 31, 33–35, 37, 44, 73, 94, 101, 103, 109, 115, 126, 127, 129, Fig. 4.
D'Oyly, Lady Eliza, 33, 35, 115.
D'Oyly, Col. Joseph, 35.
D'Oyly, Sir W. H., 37.
Dufferin and Ava, Marchioness of, 53, 58, 59, 119, 130.
Duncan, Jonathan, 44.
Durga puja, 29.

East India Company, 1, 2, 27, 42, 52, 74, 91, 94, 95, 99, 105, 121.
Eden, Emily, 5–7, 16, 68, 69, 117, 119, 120, 127, 130.
Eden, Fanny, 68.
Ehret, 110.
Elliott, Commander, 8.
Elliott, John Bardoe, 14.
Elwood, Anne, 85, 86, 132.
Eton, 118.
Evans, Alan, Fig, 13.

Faizabad, 41, 42, 51–54, 119, Fig. 29.
Faiz-Bakhsh, Muhammad (historian), 51, 135.
Falkland, Lady, 4, 7, 86–88, 130.
Farnavis, Nana, 87.
Farraday, 105.
Fatepur Sikri, 66.
Fay, Eliza, 72, 100, 130.
Fenton, Mrs., 33, 130.
Festivals, paintings of, 12, 18, 19, 24, 29, 35, 36, 46, 48, 73, 82, 90, Figs. 5, 37.
Field sports, paintings of, 3, 7, 22, 25, 62, 127.
Fishes, paintings of, 79, 93, 94, 97, 98, 112, 122.
Flaxman, 79.
Fletcher, J., 122.
Flowers, paintings of, 39, 48, 82, 83, 93–98, 110, 111, 118, 120–2, 133, Figs. 45, 46, 49.
Forbes, James, 2, 17, 27, 90, 92, 93, 101, 130.
Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, 97.
Forrest, Lt.-Col., 8.
Fotheringham, Lt., 8, 127.
Fraser, James, 8, 103, 108, 109, 127, Fig. 3.
French, J. C., 23, 124.
Frere, Sir Bartle, 88.
Fruit, paintings of, 82.

Ganesa puja, 24.
Gantz, John, 12, 72, 126.
Gantz, Just, 84.
Gaya, 31.
Gentil, Col., 53–55, 59, 60, 75, 118, 119, 130, 134.
George IV, 62, 115.
Geriche, Rev. W., 78.
Gilpin, William, 9, 125, 126.
Girnar, 6.
Glasgow, Benares paintings in, 50.
Glass, paintings on, 83, 88.
Golconda, 43, 72, 74, 75.
Gold, Capt., 8, 73, 79, 80, 103, 127, Figs. 8, 10.
Goldborne, S., 92, 131.
Gorakhpur, 98.
Graham, Maria, 11, 13, 96, 131.
Grant, Mrs., vii.
Gray, Basil, vii.
Gray, J. E., 94, 133.
Grier, S. C., 118, 131.
Grindlay, Capt., 7, 103, 127.
Growse, F. S., 120.
Gujerat, 6, 16, 87.
Gulzarbagh Opium Factory, 37, Fig. 19.

Haidar, Ghazi-ud-din (Oudh), 53, 57, 62.
Haileybury, 103.
Hall, Capt. Basil, 8, 115, 132.
Hardie, M., 12, 128.

Hardwar, painting at, 41.
Hardwicke, Maj.-Gen. T., 93, 94, 133.
Harihar Jatra, 29.
Hasankhan, Hasankhan Khurshed, vi.
Hastings, Marquess of, 22, 25, 47, 52, 121, 131.
Hastings, Warren, 14, 52, 54, 118, 131, 134, 135.
Havell, E. B., vi, 23, 116, 120, 125, 134, 135.
Heber, Bishop, 8, 16, 18, 30, 34, 42, 47, 48, 58, 115, 132.
Her Majesty the Queen's Collection, 56, 59, 61, 62, 115, 124.
Hertford (Company's College), 102.
Hickey, Thomas, 72, 128.
Hill, Diana, 10.
Hill, David Octavius, 105.
Hill, Dr. Paterson, 115.
Himalayas, 6, 8, 94, 96.
Hindu Gods, paintings of, 46, 60, 81–83, 88, 112.
Hobbema, 4, 9.
Hodges, William, 11, 12, 14, 127, 128, 132.
Hodgson, B. H., 93, 94, 115, 135.
Hogarth, 89.
Holi festival, 90.
Home, Robert, 8, 57, 58, 72, 73, 119, 127, 128.
Hook-swinging festival, 5, 24, 29, 73, Fig. 5.
Hooker, J. D., 97, 133.
Hooper, Dr., 69, 118.
Hosmer, Col. A. W., 69.
Hughe, 116.
Humphry, Ozias, 10, 17, 56, 109, 128, Fig. 13.
Hunter, Lt. J., 8, 127.
Hunter, W. W., 94, 135.
Hussey, C., 24, 126.
Hutchinson, Lucy, vii.
Hutton, W. H., 53.
Hyderabad (Deccan), 15, 74–76, 79.
— (Sind), 4.

Impey, Sir Elijah, 14, 15, 94, 95, 111, 131, Figs. 44–47.
India, British in:
— amateur sketching by, 4, 6–8, 33, 34, 43–45, 73, 74, 84, 86, 92, 102, 103, 108, 126–7.
— attitudes to art of, 9–12, 101, 102, 108, 125, 126.
— — to country of, 1–4, 99–101, 115, 129–131.
— — to Mughals of, 64–66, 135, 136.
— belief in progress by, 99.
— collection of Indian pictures by, 14, 53.
— cult of picturesque, 2–6, 9, 11, 25, 33, 34, 43–45, 65, 73, 100, 101, 113.
— employment of Indian artists by, 15, 16, 34–36, 46, 67–69, 80, 89, 90, 93, 94, 97, 120.
— instruction in painting, 17, 18, 33.
— intellectual pursuits of, 1, 2, 6, 32, 34, 85, 86, 91–93.
— opinions on Indian art, 13, 14, 69–71, 104.
— professional painting by, 10–13, 17, 54–58, 66, 72, 86–88, 109, 118, 119, 126–9.
— relations with Indians, 47, 51–54, 100, 101.
— travels by, 6, 8, 18, 19, 31, 34, 43, 44, 104, 132.
India, Dutch in, 72, 75.
India, French in, 51, 72, 74, 120.
India, French in, collection of Indian pictures by, 118, 119.
India, French in, employment of Indian artists by, 54, 55, 59, 93, 120.
India, French in, intellectual pursuits of, 53, 54.
India Office Library, vii, 29, 31, 34, 56, 60, 61, 66, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 90, 96, 107, 118, 122, 124, Figs. 18, 27, 28, 30, 31, 42, 43, 49, 50.
Indian Institute, Oxford, vii, 116, 118, 124.
Indian Museum, Calcutta, 23, 39, 124.
Indian painting: Deccani, 15, 53; Jain, 87; Kalighat, 112; modern, 113, 114, Fig. 48; Mughal, 15, 20 23, 27, 29, 53, 59, 64, 66, 108; Pahari (Punjab Hills), 113; Rajasthani, v, 53, 113.
Indian-British painting:
— evaluation of, 108–14.
— influence of British art on, 23, 25, 29, 30, 35, 37, 40, 60, 77, 83, 88, 109, 111, 112.
— influence of, on Kalighat painting, 112.
— — on modern Indian painting, 112–14.
Industrial Revolution, 99, 104, 105.
Insects, paintings of, 79, 94, Fig. 46.
Irvine, W., 75, 131, 135.
Ivory, miniatures on, 10, 17, 35, 36, 38, 67–71, 81, 84, 109, 111, 119, 120, 126, 128, Figs. 11–14, 24, 33–35.

Jacquemont, V., 87, 131.

Jahangir, 66.
Jain painting, 87.
Jenkins, Lt., 84.
Johnson, Daniel, 54, 127.
Johnson, J., 2, 4, 132.
Johnson, Richard, 14, 53.
Johnson, W., 106.
Jones, Sir William, 2, 129.
Jump, Capt., 8.
Junagarh, 2.

Kala Bhawan, Benares, 48.
Kali puja, 5, 24.
Kalighat, painting at, 112.
Karikal, painting in, 120.
Kashmir, 96.
Kasimbazar, 22, 25.
Kayasth artists, 20, 28, 96.
Kaye, J. W., 101, 106, 107, 129, 130, 135, 136.
Kettle, Tilly, 10, 54, 55, 60, 72, 83, 118, 128, 129, Fig. 29.
Khagra, 23.
Khan, Ali Vardi, 15, 20, 22.
Khan, Mir Jafar, 22, 28.
Khan, Wajid Ali (Oudh), 53, 58.
Khandalavala, Karl, vii.
Khwaja Khizr festival, 21.
Kincaid, Dennis, 18.
Kindersley, Jemina, 14, 27, 131.
King's College, Cambridge, 118.
Kipling, J. Lockwood, 69, 70, 134, 135.
Kirkee, 86.
Kirk-Patrick, William, 14, 15.
Kittoe, Major, 117, 129.
Klingender, F. D., 3, 126.
Kutlupur, 41.

Lahore, 18, 19.
Lal, Shyam Bihari, vi, 30, 38.
Landseer, 103.
Laurie, W. F. B., 103, 135.
Lawrence, A. J., 118.
Lawrence, John, 62.
Lawrence, Lady, 103, 131.
Lawrence, Stringer, 74.
Layard, F., 83.
Lewin, T. H., 19, 103, 131.
Linnaean Society, London, vii, 94, 110, 121, 124, Figs. 44–47.
Lithography, 33, 35, 94, 115.
London, Benares paintings in, 49.
Longcroft, Thomas, 58.
Louis XVI, 55.
Love, H. D., 54, 135.
Luard, Capt., 8, 127.
Lucknow, 41, 42, 51–53, 75, 93.
— artists of: Nevasi Lal, 55, 59, 119; Mir Chand, 55, 118, 125, Fig. 29.
— painting in, 51–63, 83, 112, frontispiece, Figs. 18, 30, 31, 32.
Lyall, Dr. D. R., 37.
Lytton, Lord, 38.

Mabon, Robert, 13, 86, 88.
Macaulay, Lord, 43.
Mackenzie, Col. Colin, 79, 135.
Macpherson, Sir J., 53.
Madhavradeo, Peshwa Sawai, 87.
Madras, vi, 7, 10, 12, 15, 54, 58, 72, 78, 81, 82, 85–87, 97, 120.
Madura, artist of, Ravanat Naig, 84.
— painting in, 84.
Mahableshwar, 86.
Maidapore, 22.
Maisey, Lt., 8.
Maitland, Mrs., 7, 8, 92, 131.
Malabar Coast, painting in, 84, 111, 114, Figs. 42, 43.
Malaviya, Rai Sahib Balgovind, vi, 124.
Malet, Sir Charles, 87, 88, 90.
Manners, V., 56, 129.
Manucci, Nicolao, 74, 75, 131.
Manuk, P. C., vi, 35, 36, 39, 115, 116, 125.
Map-making, 16.
Marathas, 15, 22, 64, 66, 78, 87–89, 135, 136.
Marsden, W., 82.
Martin, Claude, 54, 93, 135.
Martin, R. M., 31, 92, 97, 129, 131.
Meerut, 19, 68.
Mehta, N. C., 36, 41, 125.
Menageries, 24, 92, 94, 97.
Metcalfe, Charles, 65, 136.

Mica, paintings on, 21–25, 36, 37, 39, 46, 48–50, 70, 82–84, 117, 118, 120, Figs. 6, 19, 25, 27, 28, 36, 37, 41.
Middleton, N., 95.
Mill, J. S., 14.
Millais, 103.
Milner, J. D., 118, 119, 129.
Minerals, paintings of, 98.
Minto, Earl of, 29, 131.
Miran, 28.
Mirzapur, 2.
Moffat, James, 12, 127.
Mohan, Radha, vi, 117, 124.
Moira, Earl of, *see* Hastings, Marquess of.
Monghyr, 198.
Monier Williams, 118, 135.
Moochy (Indian painter), 14, 74, 79, 80, 81, Fig. 10.
Mughal painting, 23, 27, 29, 39, 53, 59, 64, 66, 108, 111, 113.
Muharram festival, 5, 21, 24, 29, 46, 48, 90.
Mukharji, T. N., 40, 83, 134.
Mundy, Capt., 4, 5, 25, 34, 43, 44, 64, 65, 131.
'Munny Begum', 24.
Murshidabad, 15, 19, 20–29, 36, 37, 42, 74, 82, 86, 96.
— artists of, vi, 30, 66; Dhani Ram, 20; Dip Chand, 20.
— painting in, 20–26, Figs. 5, 6.
Musée Guimet, Paris, 59, 75, 118, 119.
Mysore, 8, 73, 97, 120, 121.

Napier, Sir Charles, 70.
Nash, Edward, 86.
Nasir-ud-din (Oudh), 53.
'Native characters', paintings of, 8, 12, 18, 19, 28, 32, 37, 38, 46, 60–62, 73, 77, 80, 90, 103, 108, 111, 112, 114, 120, Figs. 9, 10, 15, 16, 22, 25–28, 31, 32, 38–43.
Natural History, artists: Bhawani Das, 95; Gorachand, 96; Gunga Sing, 97; Gurudayal, 96; Haludar, 96, 98, 122; Lakshman Singh, 96; Mahangu Lal, 96; Ram Das, 95; Rungiah, 96; Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, 95, Figs. 44–47; Vishnu Prasad, 96.
— — paintings of, 91–98, 110, 111, 121–3.
Nautch, paintings of, 1, 6, 39, 40, 46, 49, 77, 90, Figs. 20, 40.
Nepal, 34, 94, 97.
Nilgiris, 8, 73, 108, Fig. 1.
Nugent, Lady, 10, 16, 17, 19, 31, 119, 131.
Nuqqash, 32, 41.

Oakley, Lady, Fig. 12.
Ochterlony, Sir David, 67.
Oils, paintings in, 10, 109, 117.
O'Malley, L. S. S., 20, 22, 134, 135.
Orme, 73.
Osborne, William, 68, 131.
Oudh, Nawab of, 41, 42, 107.
Ouseley, Sir Gore, 14, 53.
Ouseley, Sir William, 14, 130, 132.
Ovans, Capt., 16.

Paget, Lady Harriet, 35.
Paget, Sir Edward, 35, 57, 58.
Parks, Fanny, 8, 24–26, 44, 46, 49, 65, 73, 119, 120, 131, Fig. 9.
Parliament, Houses of, 102.
Patna, 8, 19, 27, 28, 32–34, 42, 45, 60, 74, 81, 82, 86, 96, 98, 106, Fig. 4.
— artists of: Bahadur Lal, I, 37, 38, 116; Bahadur Lal, II, 39, 40, 116; Bani Lal, vi, 37, 38, 116, Fig. 26; Fakir Chand Lal, 35, 36, 116; Gopal Lal, 37, 38, 116; Gur Sahay Lal, 37, 38; Hulas Lal, vi, 30, 31, 35, 36, 41, Fig. 16; Ishwari Prasad, vi, 24, 28, 35, 115, 116, 124; Jaigovind Lal, 37, 38, 116; Jairam Das, 30, 34, 35, 37, 109, Fig. 11; Jamuna Prasad, 39, 40; Jhumak Lal, 35, 37, 39; Kamalpati, 46; Kanhai Lal, 37, 38, 116; 'Lallji', 30, 47; Mahadev Lal, vi, 116, 117; Munshi Pyari Lal, 31; Sewak Ram, 28–31, 35–37, 45, 114, Figs. 15, 17; Shiva Lal, 36–40, 109, 114, 116, Figs. 19, 20; Shiva Dayal Lal, 36, 38–40, 46, 49, 109, 116, Fig. 25; Tuni Lal, 35, 36.
— Museum, vii, 38, 90, 117, 124.
— painting in, 27–40, 46, 49, 62, 63, 107, 111, 112, 115.
Pegu, 97.
Pennant, T., 95, 130.
Phipps, Constantine, Fig. 14.
Phipps, J. C., Fig. 14.

Photography, 50, 69, 70, 81, 105–7.
Pigot, Lord, 74.
Place, George, 58.
Place, Dr., 93, 94.
Polier, Col., 54, 55, 61, 118, 136.
Ponnant, 84.
Poona, 2, 4, 7, 86–88.
— artist, Gangaram Tambat, 88.
Postans, Marianne, 2, 4, 6, 8, 15, 16, 73, 89, 130.
Pote, E., 118.
Poussin, 9.
Prain, D., 97, 122, 133.
Prasad, Rai Durga, vi, 116.
Prasad, Rai Mathura, vi, 124.
Pre-Raphaelites, 102.
Pretyman, Mrs., 68.
Price, Sir Uvedale, 9, 126.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 88, 124.
Pringle, Mrs. John, 117.
Prinsep, H. T., 68.
Prinsep, James, 7, 19, 41, 44, 45, 116, 127, 136.
Prinsep, Val, 70, 71, 104, 105, 131.
Prout, 4.
Pudukkottai, painting in, 83, 134.
Purnea, artists of, 32.
Pyne, W. H., 3.

Railways, 50, 104.
Rajmahal Hills, 34.
Ram Lila Mela, 45.
Ram, Mansa, 42.
Ramnagar, 41, 47.
Rangpur, 98.
Rao, Peshwa Mahadeo, 87.
Rembrandt, 4.
Renaldi, 54.
Reynolds, Graham, vii, 126, 129.
Richards, F. J., 81.
Roberts, Emma, 6, 12, 18, 21, 32, 33, 43, 47, 58, 65, 91, 129, 130.
Rohtasgarh, 33.
Rowlandson, Thomas, 9, 125.
Roxburgh, W., 91, 96, 98, 120, 122, 133.
Roy, Jamini, 113, 114.
Roy, Raja Nevel, 60.
Royal Asiatic Society, London, 35, 82, 124.
Royal Engineers, 16.
Royle, J. F., 93, 125, 133.
Ruisdael, 4, 9.
Rulers, Indian:
— employment of British artists by, 54–59, 74, 79, 87, 119.
— — of Indian artists by, 20, 21, 48, 74, 78, 116.
— imitation of British by, 47, 48, 56, 57, 78, 88, 89.
— paintings of, 12, 23, 31, 32, 54–56, 60–62, 67, 71, 74, 75, Figs. 29, 30, 33, 34.
— possession of British pictures by, 22, 47, 48, 56, 57, 78, 88, 89.
Ruskin, John, 101, 102.
Russell, P., 91, 93, 133.
Russell, Sir W. H., 119.

Sair-ul-Mutakharin, 22.
Salsette, 87.
Salvator, 4, 9.
Santals, 113, 114.
Sassoon, D. V., 84, 124.
Satara, 88.
Scenery, paintings of, 7–9, 12, 33, 35, 45, 73, 103, 109, 113.
Schools, paintings of, 49.
Scindia, Mahadji, 87, 89.
Scott, Jonathan, 14.
Serampore, 96.
Serfagee, 78, 79.
Seringapatam, 73, 120, 123.
Servants, paintings of, 25, 46, 49, 118.
Shah, Ahmad, 64.
Shah, Amjad Ali (Oudh), 53.
Shah, Muhammad Ali (Oudh), 53.
Shah, Muhammad, 64.
Shah, Nadir, 64.
Shahabad, 98.
Shakespear, Emily, 24, 132.
Sher-Gil, Amrita, 113, 114, Fig. 48.
Sherwood, Mary, 21, 100, 129.
Shobert, Frederic, 14, 130.
Shore, Sir John, 56.
Shuja-ud-daula (Oudh), 42, 51, 53, 54–56, 60, 64, 118, 119, 135, 136, Figs. 29, 30.
Shuja-ud-daula (Murshidabad), 20, 22.

Sikhs, 62, 68.
Sikraul, 43.
Simla, 16, 19.
Sind, 2, 87.
Singh, Amar, 78.
Singh, Maharaja Ranjit, 68.
Singh, Raja Balwant, 41, 42.
Singh, Raja Chet, 41, 42, 60.
Singh, Raja Ishwari Narain, vi, 41, 48.
Singh, Raja Mahip Narain, 42, 43, 115.
Singh, Raja Udit Narain, 42, 47.
Siraj-ud-daula, 22.
Sivaji, 88.
Skinner, Col., 67.
Skinner, Thomas, 21, 24, 132.
Sleeman, W. H., 67, 132.
Smart, John, 10, 17, 72, 109, Figs. 12, 14.
Smith, Charles, 58.
Smith, L. F., 56.
Smith, Sir J. E., 121.
Snakes, paintings of, 82, 93, 94, 122, 133, Fig. 36.
Solvyn, Baltasar, 12, 127, 128.
Sonepur, 29.
Southern India, painting in, 72–84.
Sowerby, 110.
Spalding, H. N., vii.
Spear, T. G. P., vii, 136.
Srirangam, painting in, 84.
Staunton, 110.
Stchoukine, I., 75, 119, 125.
Steegman, J., 102, 105, 126.
Stocqueler, J. H., 4, 13, 130.
Stone, Miss, 95.
Stooke, H. J., vii.
Suez, 85.
Surat, 87.
Suttee, custom of, 5, 18, 24.
— paintings of, 7, 24, 74, Fig. 6.
Sutton, S. C., vii.
Sutton, T., 23, 127, 136.
Swartz, C. F., 78, 79, 131.

Tagore, Abanindranath, 23.
Taj Mahal, 17, 119.
Talib, Abu, 52, 136.
Tanjore, 15, 74–82.
— painting in, 74–82, 83, 111, 120, Figs. 10, 38, 39, 41.
Tanna, 87.
Tayler, William, 7, 36, 37, 100, 127, 132.
Taylor, P. Meadows, 8, 127, 132.
Teignmouth, Lord, 56.
Tellichery, 84.
Teniers, 4.
Tennant, William, 18, 111, 132.
Testimonials to artists, 120.
Thackeray, 19.
Thompson, E. J., 65.
Thornton, R. J., 110, 133.
Tippoo Sultan, 8, 32, 73, 122.
Titian, 118.
Trades, paintings of, 3, 12, 28, 35, 39, 40, 46, 61, 76, 80, 82, 83, 118.
Transparencies, 24.
Trichinopoly, painting in, 82–84, 120, Figs. 36, 37.
Tucker, Harriet, 45.
Tulsaji, Raja, 74, 76, 78.
Turner, 103.
Twining, T., 101, 132.

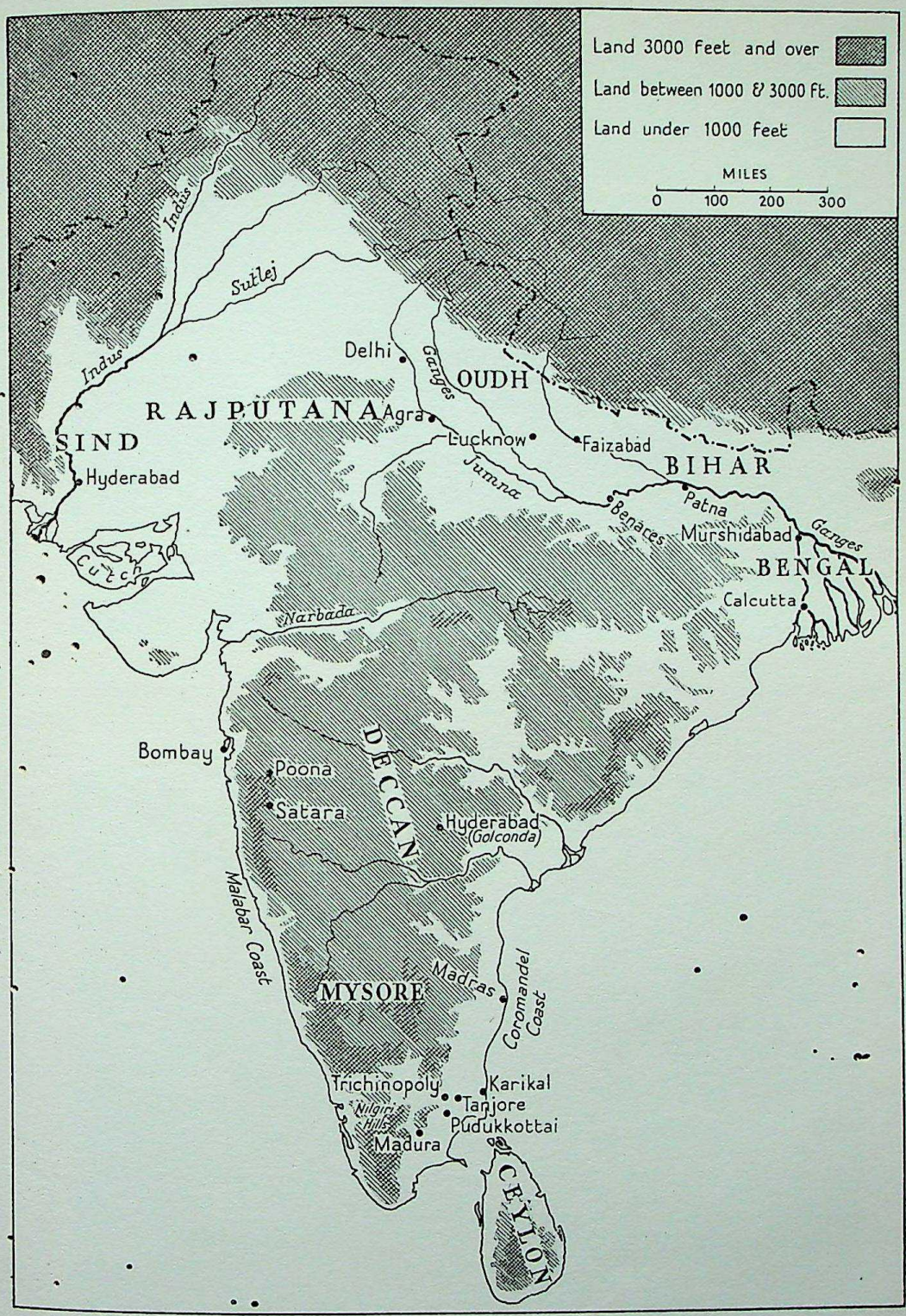
Udaipur State, 20.
Uraons, 106.

Valentia, Lord, 22, 47, 56, 57, 78, 132.
Varma, Rajaram, vi, 31.
Versailles, 55.
Victoria and Albert Museum, vii, 29, 36, 37, 39, 49, 56, 62, 66, 67, 71, 75–77, 80–84, 117, 118, 124, frontispiece, Figs. 16, 19, 20, 23–25, 29, 32–39.
Victoria, Queen, 62, 71, 119.

Wales, James, 12, 86–88, 127.
Walker, George, 3.
Wallace, Lt., 87, 132.
'Wallady Begum', 24.
Wallich, N., 96, 122, 133.
walls, paintings on, 32, 41.
Wardrop, J., 75.
Watson, F., 102, 136.
Watson, J. F., 106, 107, 130, 136.

Watt, Sir George, 71, 134.
Webb-Smith, C., 33, 127.
Weddings, Hindu and Muhammadan, 5, 24.
— paintings of, 24, 36, 61, 73, Figs. 17, 18.
Wellesley, Marquess, 53, 61, 91, 92, 97, 121, 123, 131, 135; collection of, 61, 62, 122, Figs. 49, 50.
Westall, James, 86, 103.
Western India, 85–90.
Wheatly (missionary), 46.
Wheler, Mrs., 95.
Whelpfdale, Lt., 84.
White, Lt., 8, 127.
Wilenski, R. H., 101, 102, 126.
Wilkins, Sir Charles, 2.
Williamson, G. C., 56, 126, 129.
Williamson, T., 7, 13, 51, 52, 127, 130.
Willison, George, 72, 74.
Wilson, Horace, 2.
Wilton, 31.
Worcestershire china, 57.

Zoffany, Johann, 10, 54, 56, 72, 83, 109, 128, 129.
Zoological Society, London, 94, 124.



Map of India showing the main centres of painting for the British as well as other areas referred to in the text.

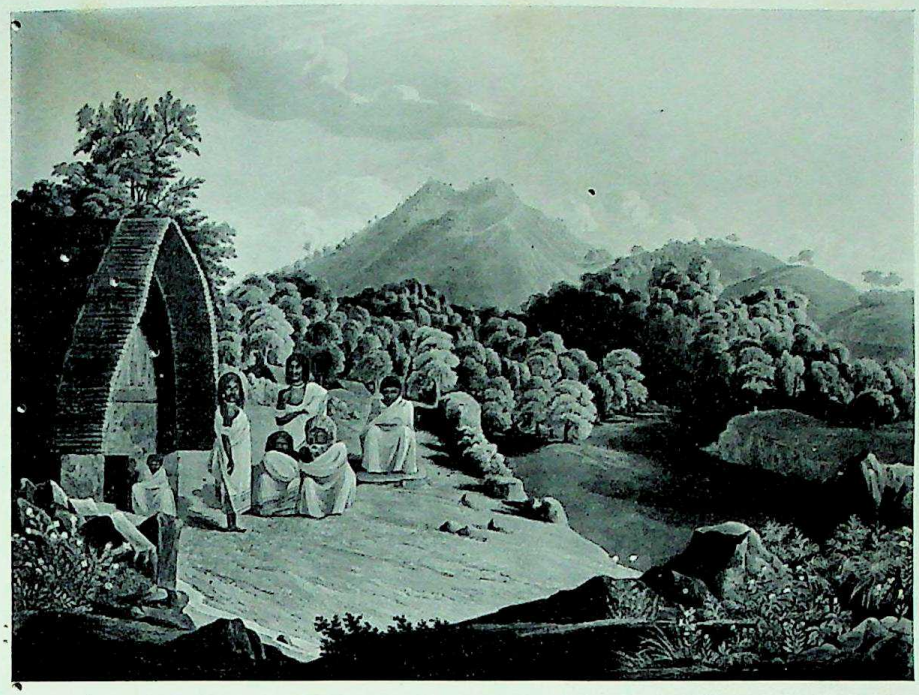


FIG. 1. Toda Villagers. Aquatint from Richard Barron's *Views in India chiefly among the Neelgherry Hills*

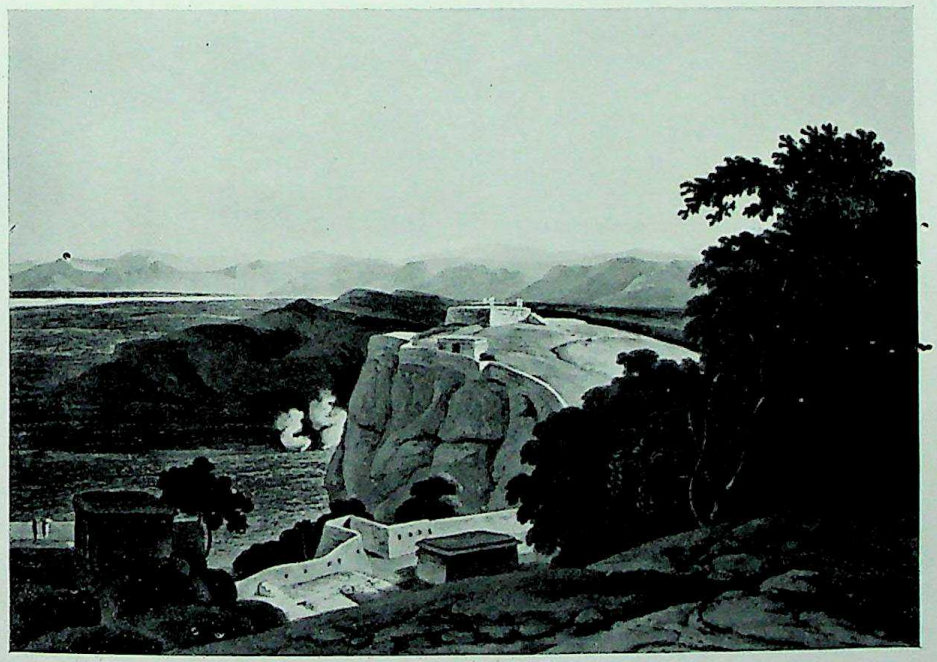


FIG. 2. Sankry Droog, a hill-fort in Southern India. Aquatint from Thomas and William Daniell's *Oriental Scenery*

FIG. 3. View of Court House Street, Calcutta. Aquatint from James Fraser's *Views of Calcutta*

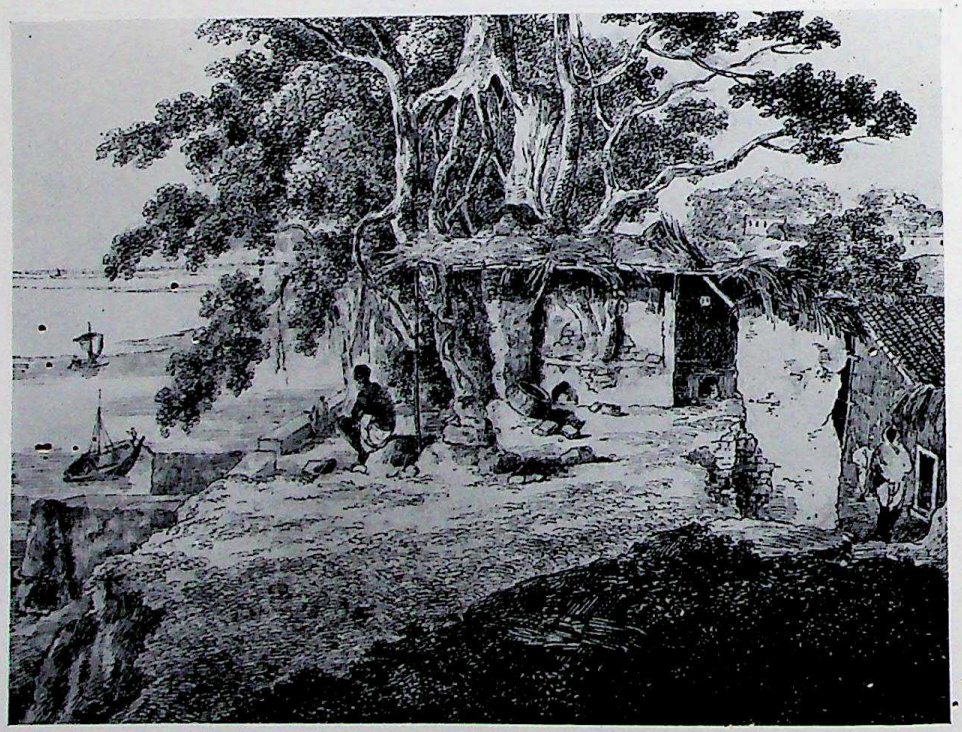


FIG. 4. The Banks of the Ganges near Patna. From a sketch-book by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Patna. About 1825

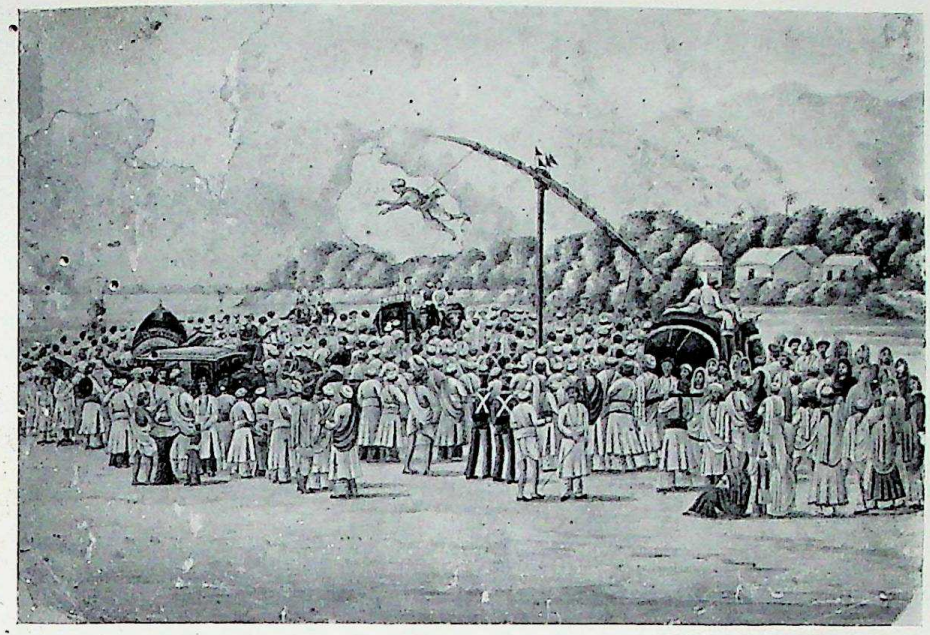


FIG. 5. The Hook-swinging Festival. Water-colour. Murshidabad
About 1800

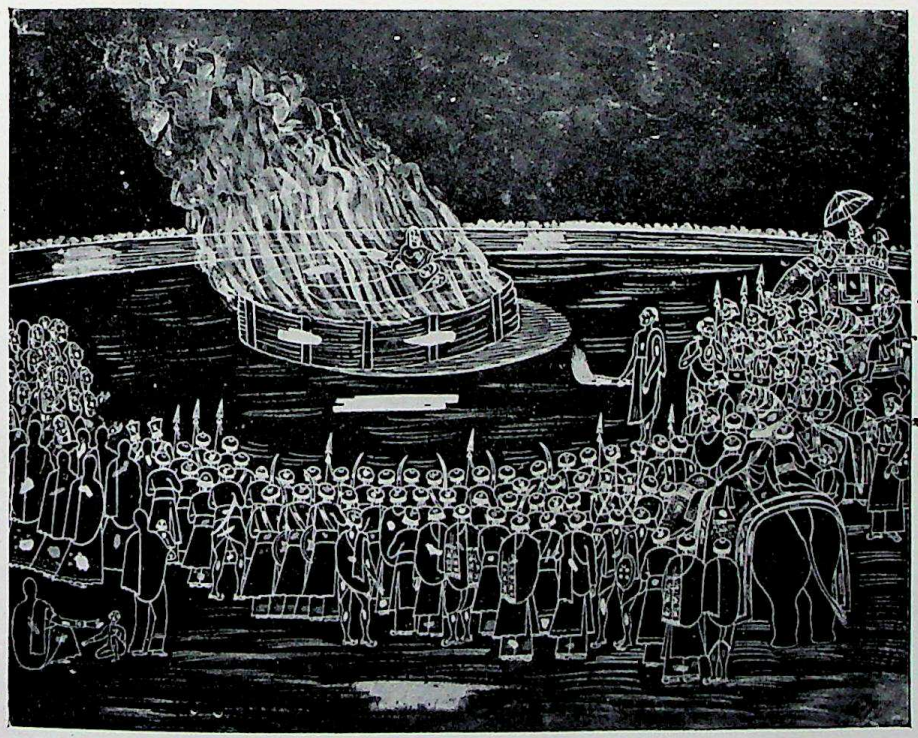


FIG. 6. Suttee Scene. Artist's mica pattern with colour indications
Murshidabad. About 1800

FIG. 7. The Shrimper. Illustration to *Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the English*

FIG. 8. Barbers. Illustration to Captain Charles Gold's *Oriental Drawings*

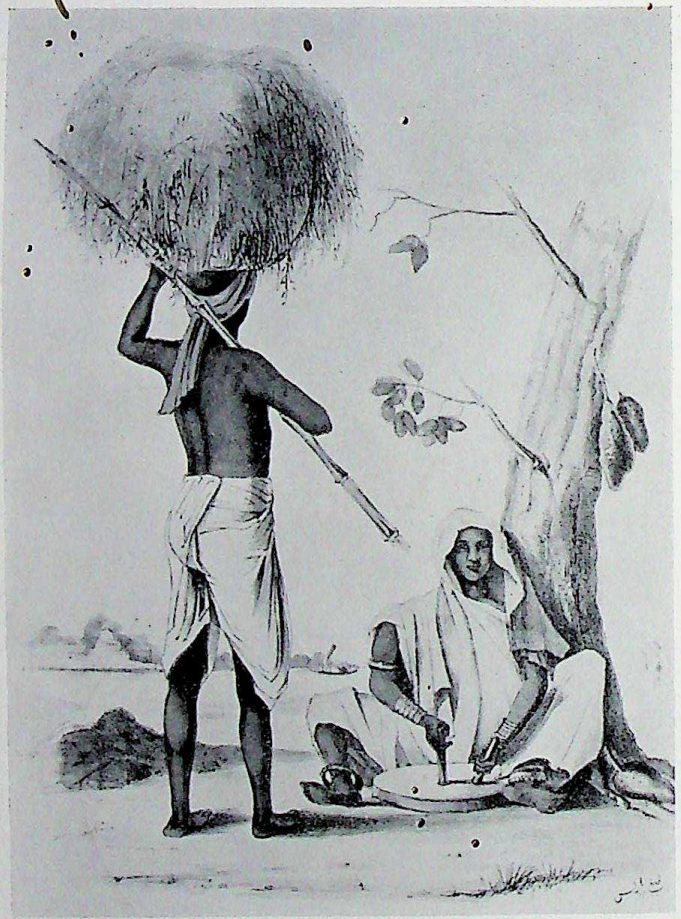


FIG. 9. The Grass-cutter and Gram-grinder. Illustration to Fanny Park's *The Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque during Twenty-four Years in the East*

FIG. 10. Beggars. Illustration to Captain Charles Gold's *Oriental Drawings*. By 'the Tanjore Moochy', Tanjore About 1800

PLATE 5

FIG. 11. A European Lady. Water-colour on ivory. Probably by Jairam Das, Patna About 1830

FIG. 12. Lady Oakley. Water-colour on ivory. By John Smart. 1786

FIG. 13. Colonel Carnac. Water-colour on ivory. By Ozias Humphry. 1786

FIG. 14. Constantine Phipps Jr. Water-colour on ivory. By John Smart. 1793

FIG. 15. The Pedlar. Water-colour. By Sewak Ram, Patna. About 1810

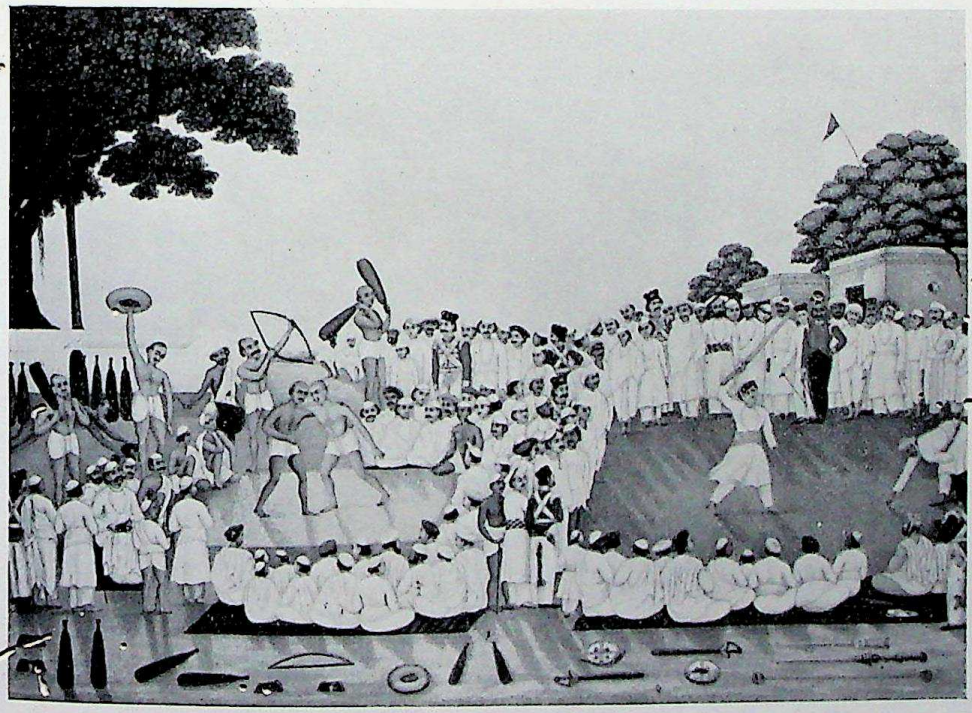


FIG. 16. Wrestling and Sword-play. Water-colour. Probably by Hulas Lal, Patna
About 1830

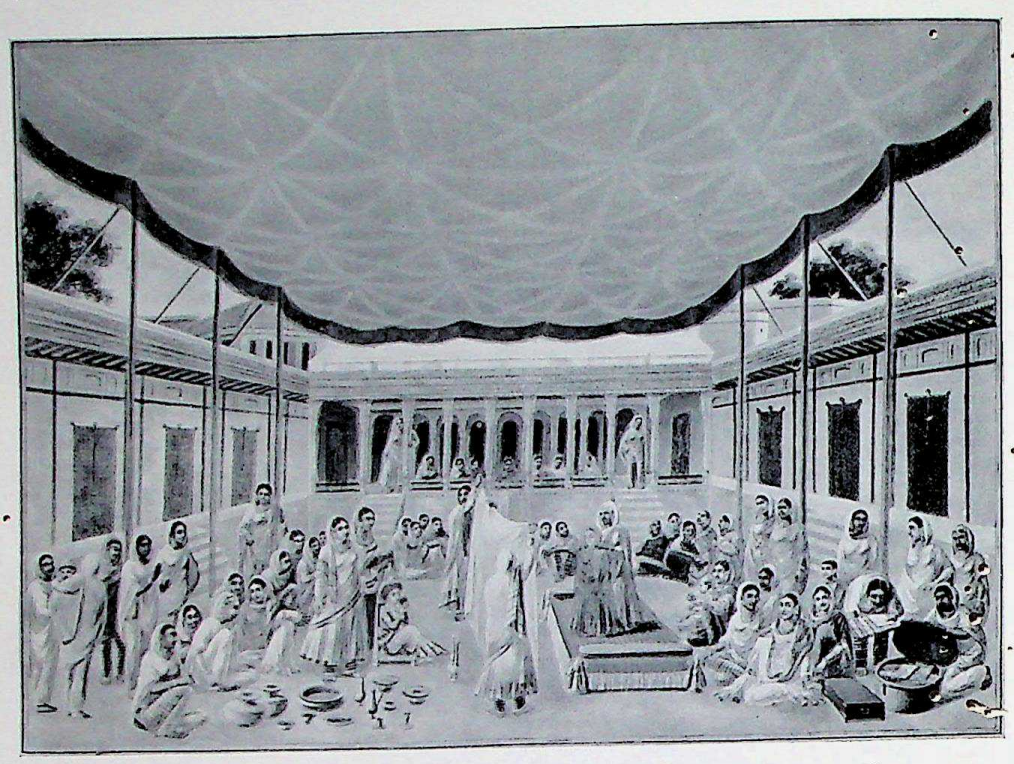


FIG. 17. A Muslim Wedding. Water-colour. By Sewak Ram, Patna. About 1807

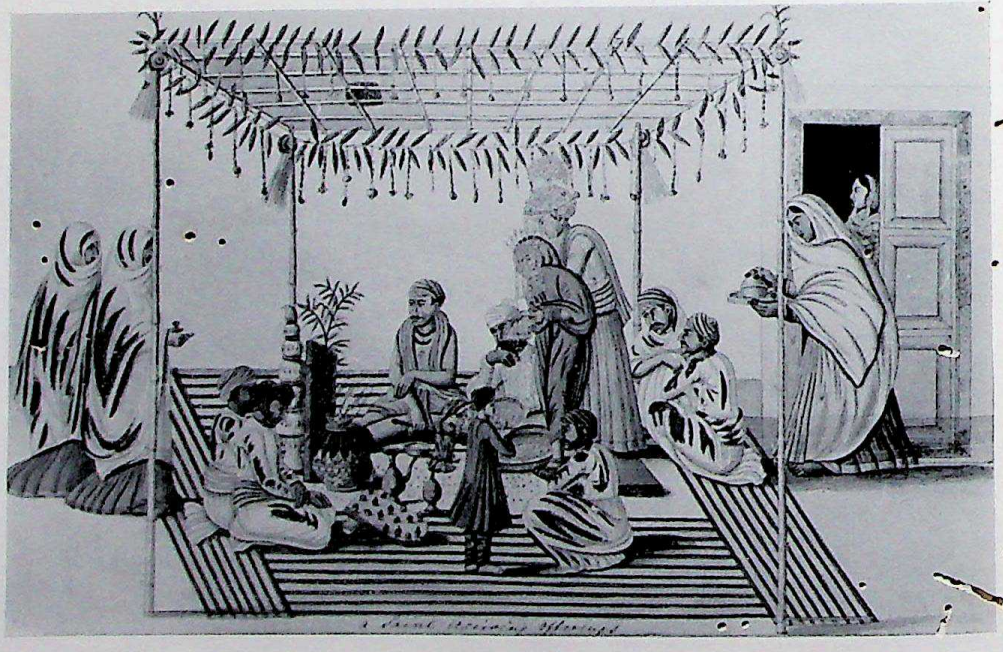


FIG. 18. A Hindu Marriage. Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1800

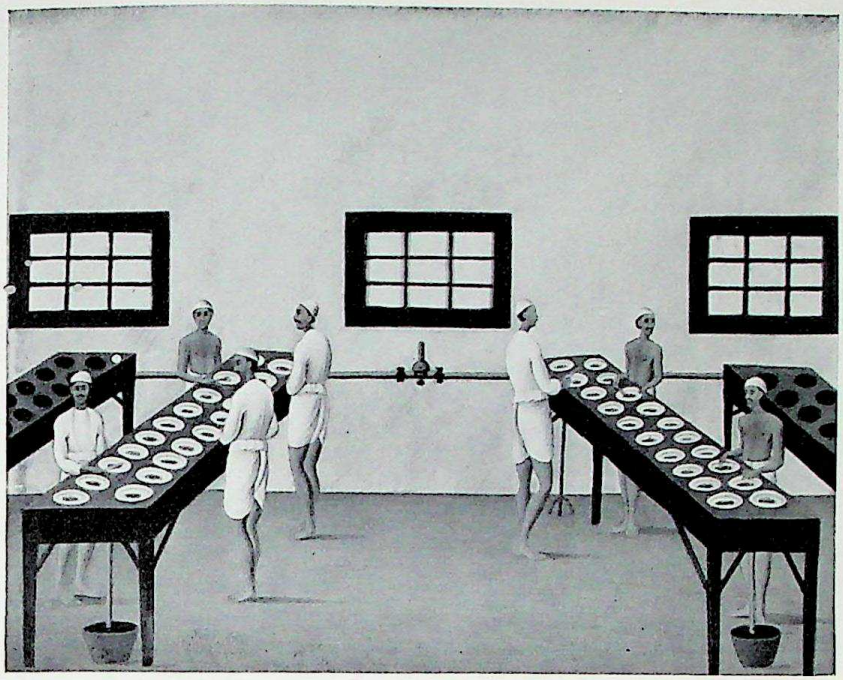


FIG. 19. Scene in the Opium Factory, Gulzarbagh, Patna. Painting on mica. By Shiva Lal, Patna. About 1860

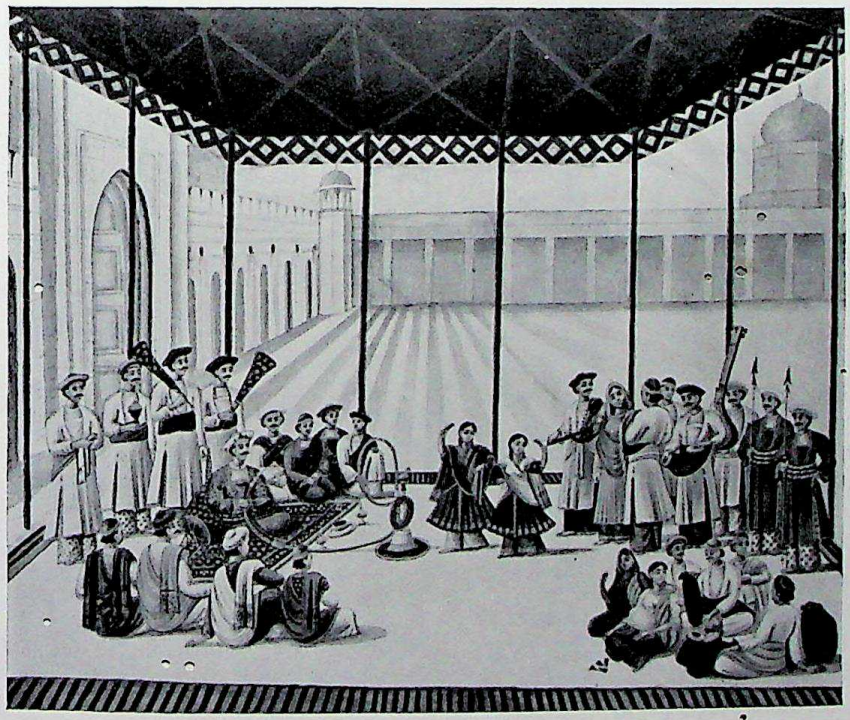


FIG. 20. A Gentleman being entertained by Dancing Girls. Water-colour By Shiva Lal, Patna. About 1860

FIG. 21. Camel with Rider. Water-colour. Probably by Kamalpati Lal, Benares
About 1820

FIG. 22. - Tailors. Water-colour. Probably by Kamalpati Lal, Benares
About 1820

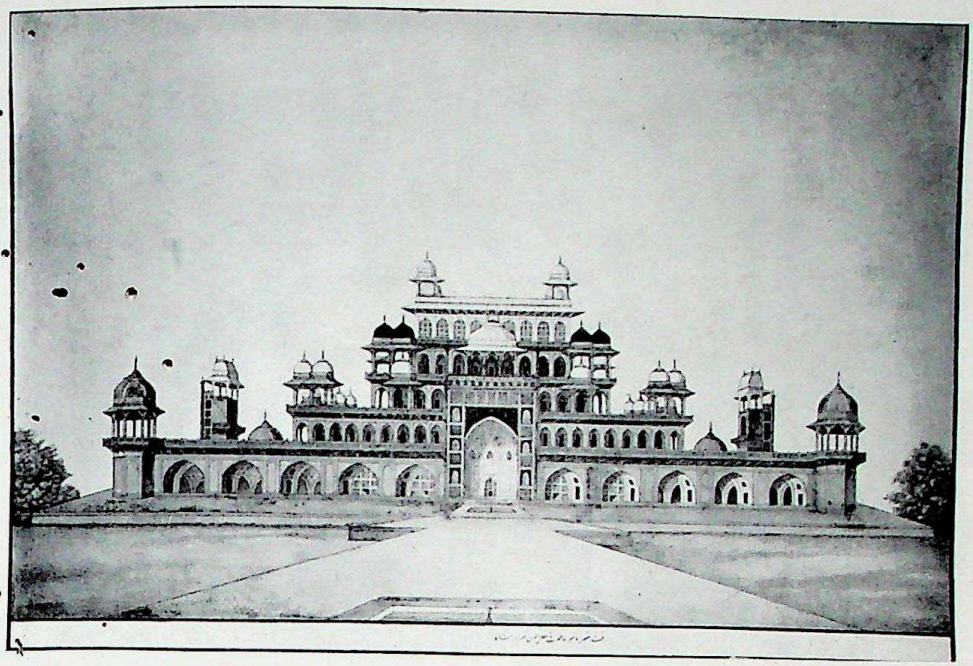


FIG. 23. Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikranda near Agra. Water-colour. Delhi
About 1817

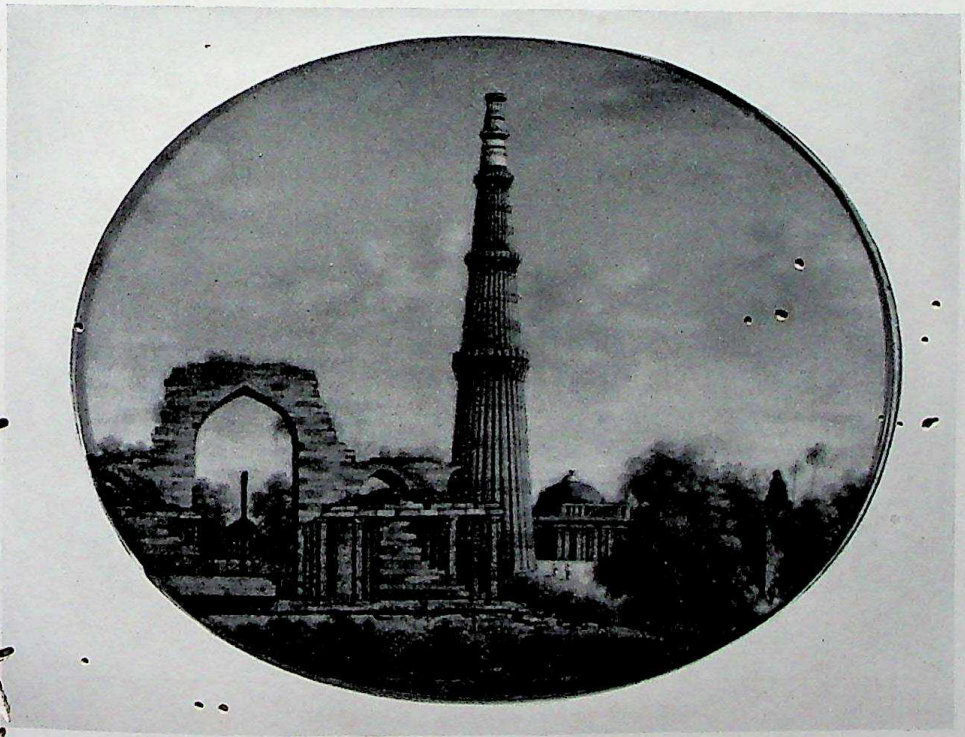


FIG. 24. The Kutb Minar, Delhi. Water-colour on ivory. About 1835

FIG. 25. Musicians. Painting on mica. By Shiva Dayal Lal, Patna. About 1865

FIG. 26. Water-carrier. Water-colour. By Bani Lal, Patna. About 1880

FIG. 27. Muharram lantern-carrier. Painting on mica
Benares. About 1870

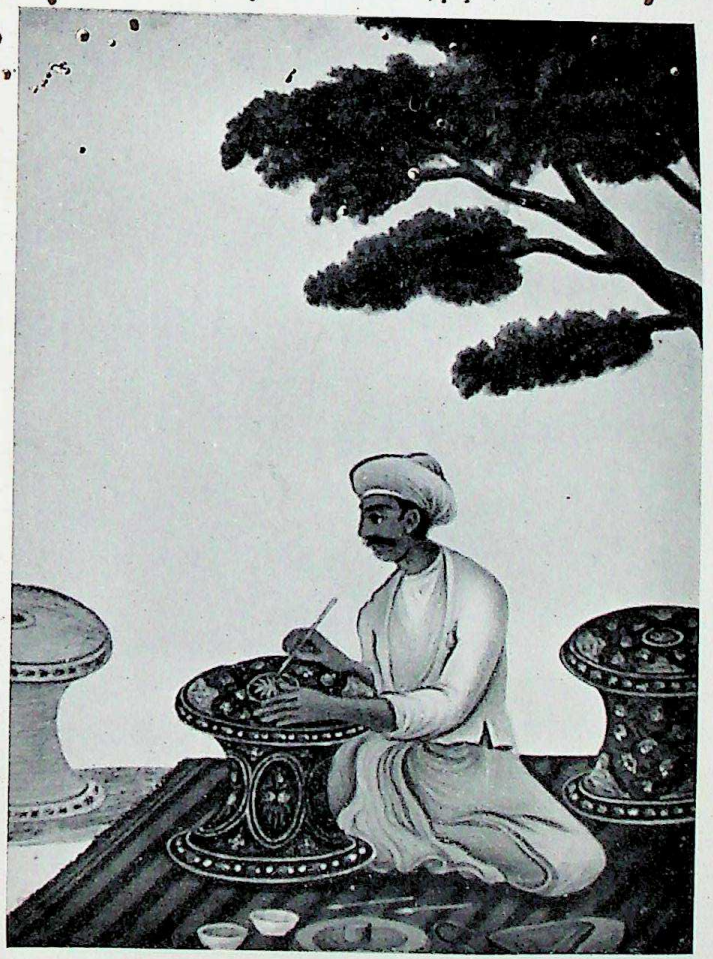


FIG. 28. Lacquer-worker. Painting on mica. Benares
About 1870

FIG. 29. Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh. Tempera. By Mir Chand, Faizabad. About 1775

FIG. 30. Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh. Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1800

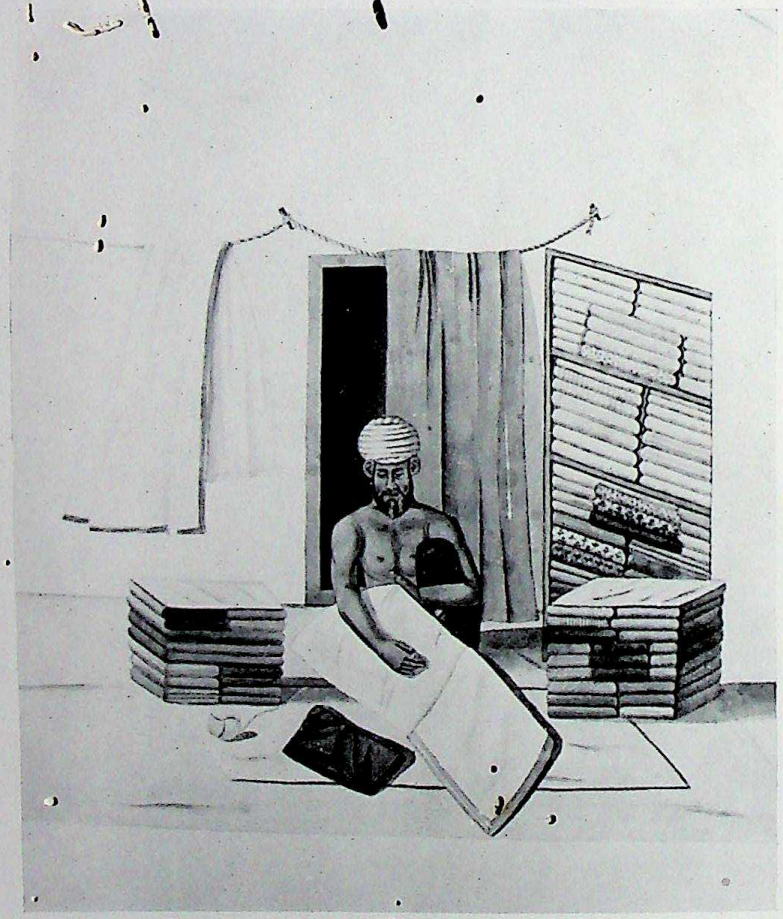


FIG. 31. Cloth-seller. Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1800

FIG. 32. A Woman Polishing Carnelians. Water-colour. Lucknow. About 1815

FIG. 33. Alamgir II. Water-colour on ivory. Delhi. About 1860

FIG. 34. Shah Alam. Water-colour on ivory. Delhi. About 1860

FIG. 35. Imperial Ladies. Water-colour on ivory. Delhi. About 1860

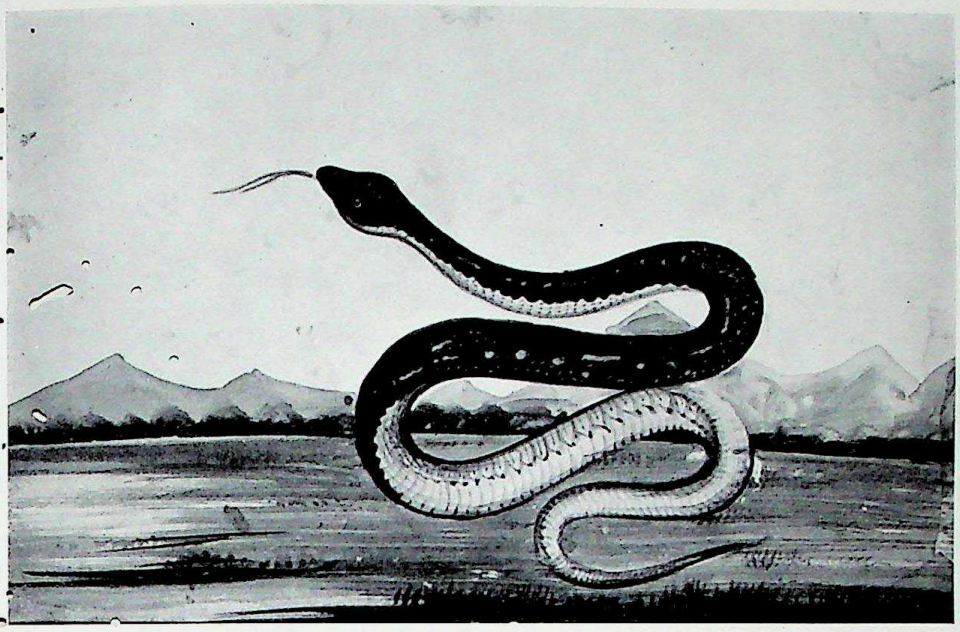


FIG. 36. A Snake. Painting on mica. Trichinopoly. About 1850

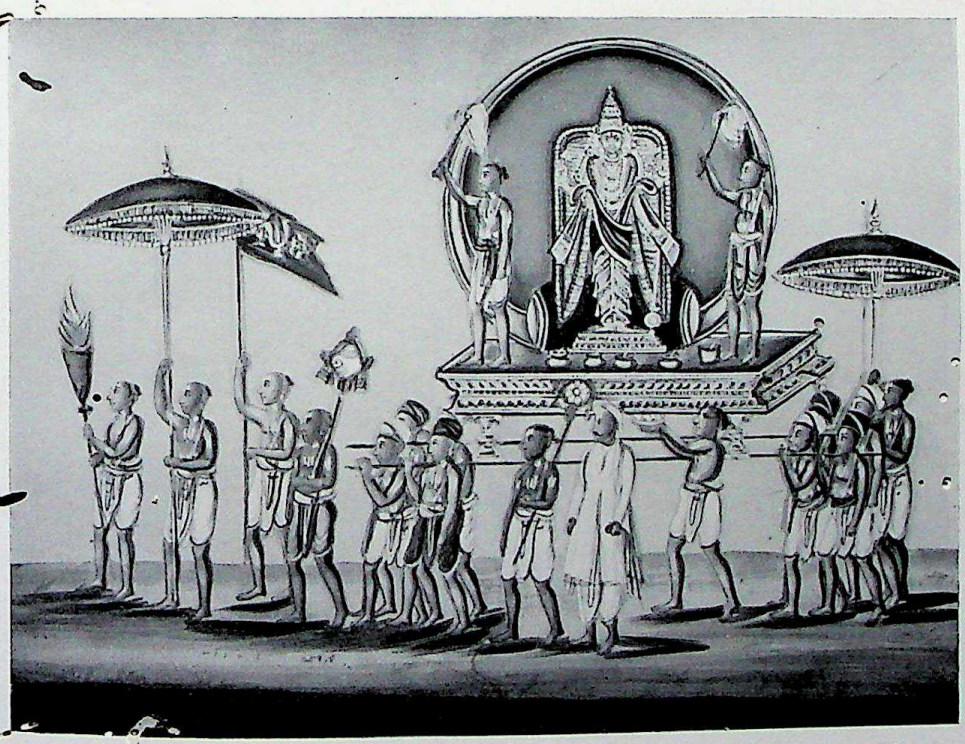


FIG. 37. Religious Procession of 'Runganada Swami'. Painting on mica Trichinopoly. About 1850

FIG. 38. A Tailor and his Wife. Tempera. Tanjore
About 1805

FIG. 39. A Washerman and his Wife. Tempera. Tanjore
About 1780

FIG. 40. 'A Girl dancing the Kuharwa.' Illustration to T. D. Broughton's *The Costume, Character, Manners, Domestic Habits and Religious Ceremonies of the Mahrattas* By 'Deen Alee', Western India. About 1809

FIG. 41. An Indian Artist copying a European Portrait Painting on mica. Tanjore. About 1875

PLATE 19

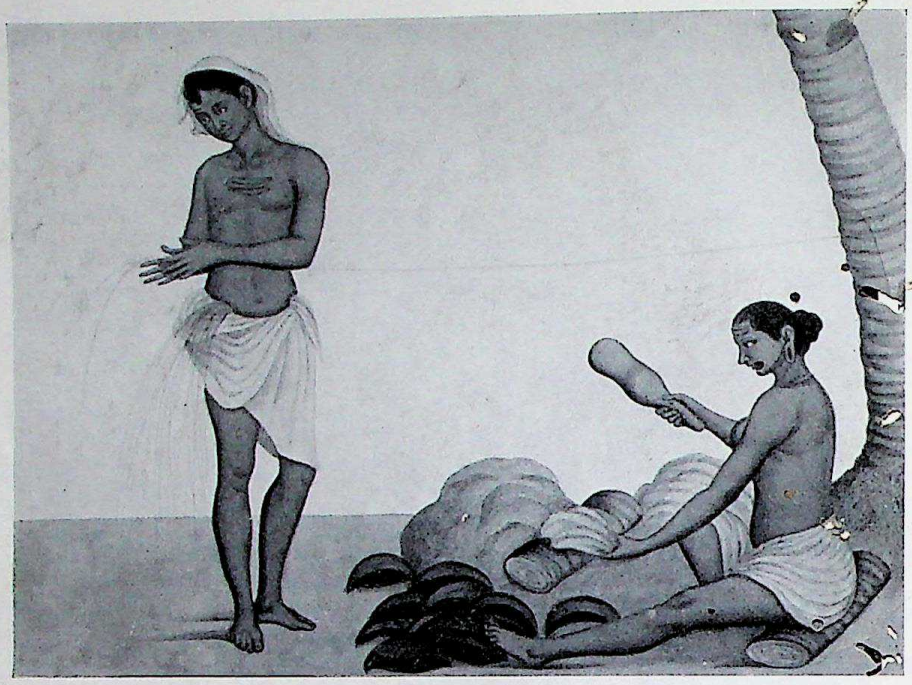


FIG. 42. Peoples of the Malabar Coast, inscribed 'Nholayen and Nholachee'
Water-colour. Malabar. About 1826

FIG. 43. Peoples of the Malabar Coast, inscribed 'Magudam and Murashu'
Water-colour. Malabar. About 1826

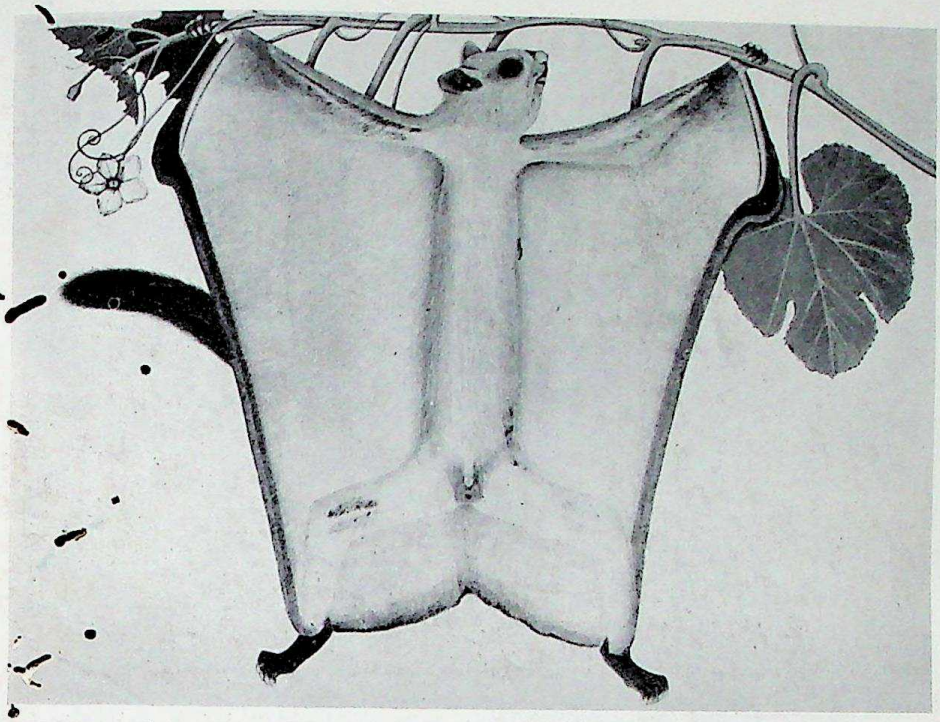


FIG. 44. Flying Fox. Water-colour. By Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, Calcutta, 1780

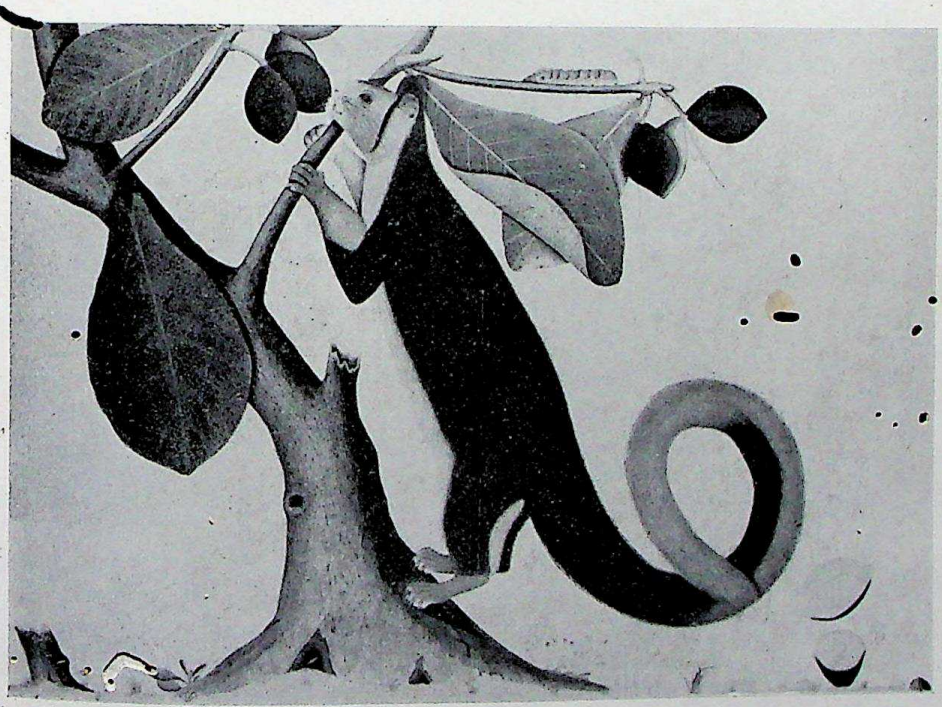


FIG. 45. 'Mountain Rat on Hindostani Almond.' Water-colour. By Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, Calcutta. 1778

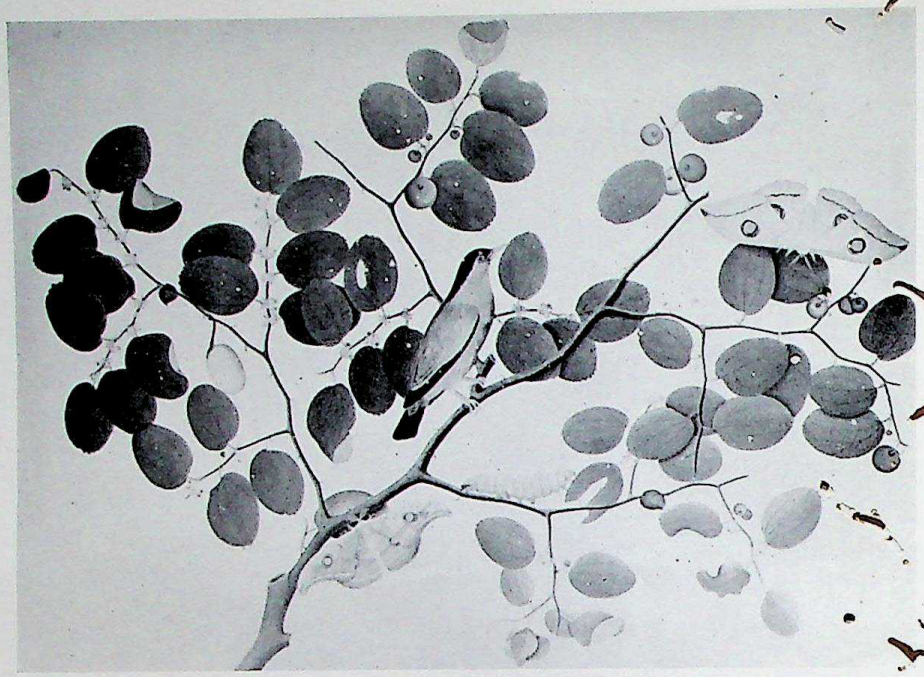


FIG. 46. Pagoda Thrush on Bair Tree, with Moths and Caterpillar. Water-colour
By Shaykh Zayn-al-Din, Calcutta, 1777

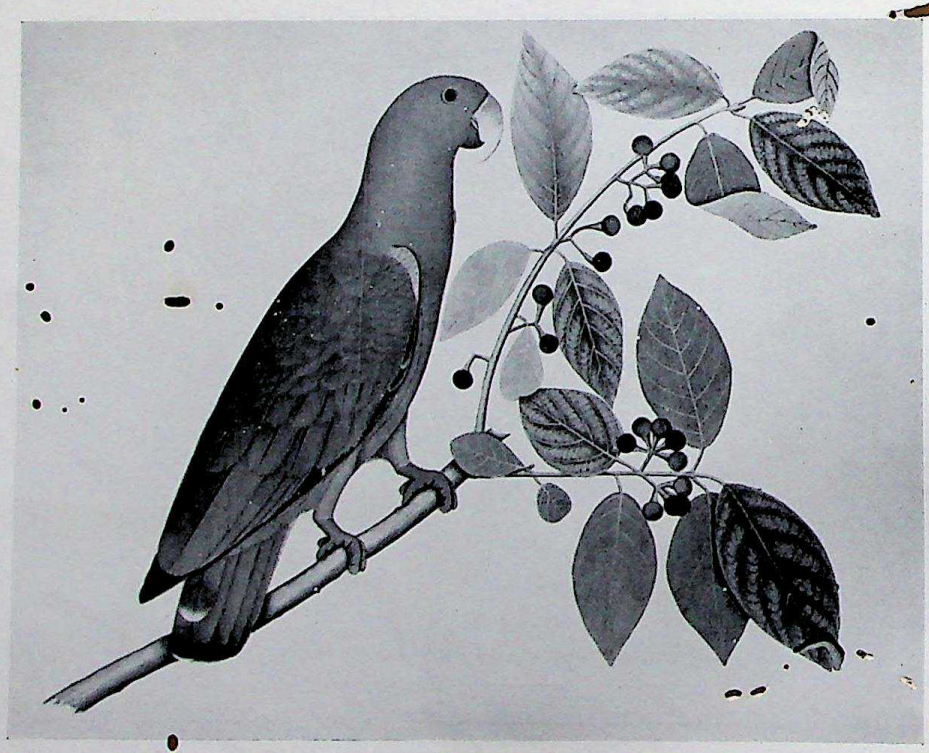


FIG. 47. Eastern Parrot on a Spray. Water-colour. By Shaykh Zayn-al-Din,
Calcutta. About 1777

FIG. 48.—Hill Women. Oil painting. By Amrita Sher-Gil. 1935

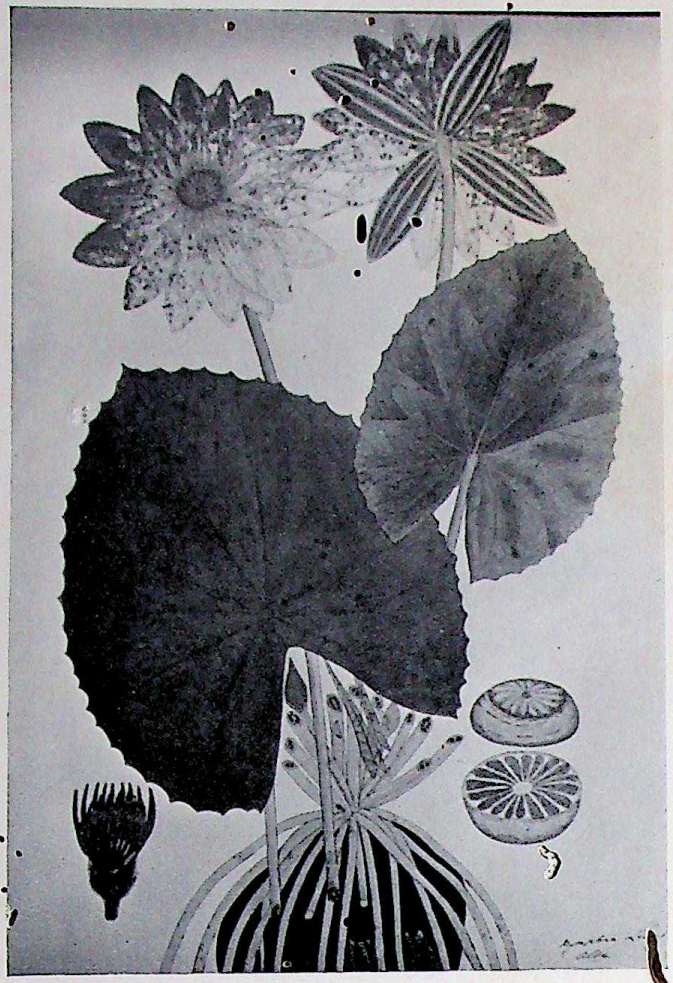


FIG. 49. White Lotus. Water-colour. Calcutta
About 1800

FIG. 50. 'Mahoka.' Water-colour. Calcutta
About 1800

26.
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